

Sociology and Social Research

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SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIAL RESEARCH

May-June 1954

PHYSICAL DIMENSIONS OF SOCIAL DISTANCE

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In this paper we will outline a number of hypotheses relating the geographic distance, time, and group size to social distance. Although we may expect that the testing of these hypotheses will yield a revised measure of social distance, we shall employ the concept here as "defined by social distance scales."

In many fundamental sociological categories the concept of social distance is implied—whether it be differentiation of a Toennies, between "Gemeinschaft" and "Gesellschaft" types of social ties, or that of a Cooley, between "primary" and "secondary" groups. In either case, the dichotomous group-types seem to differ in terms of physical proximity or distance, frequency of interaction (time spent in interacting with other members of the in-group), and sizes of the groups. Only within a specifiable geographic distance are the "face-to-face" relationships possible, although modern media of communication, like the telephone or television, tend to extend these distances.

Social distance and geographic distance. A hypothesis may be introduced, by no means an original one: The degree of liking tends to vary with inverse geographic distance. To geographic distance, the behavioral scientists have paid very little attention thus far. In 1940 Samuel Stouffer pointed out that "distance is such an important factor that it needs more explicit study than it has received."¹ Yet, it has been only by implications that geographic distance has played a role in behavioral research.²

¹ Samuel Stouffer, "Intervening Opportunities: A Theoretical Relation between Mobility and Distance," *American Sociological Review*, 10: 846.

² Charles P. Loomis, "Informal Social Participation in Planned Rural Communities," *Sociometry*, 2:4: 1-38; Jacob L. Moreno, *Who Shall Survive?* (Boston: Beacon House, Inc., 1953), pp. 450-51, 696.

The students of small groups relate the two concepts recurrently. The choices of friends and residential propinquity³ are found significantly related; in a large office, the proportion of interacts among the girls closest to one another far outranks the amount of contact at a greater distance (although within the very same office).⁴ A die-away effect can be inferred from the data. Similarly, prejudiced attitudes toward pictures of Negroes tend to change toward less prejudice when actual Negro children, known to the respondents, are considered.⁵

The current social distance scales may be applied usefully to testing out the hypothesis.⁶ We may, for example, classify various geographic distances in terms of increasing powers of 10 and express our unit of measurement in meters. Such a "demic" classification scheme⁷ may generate two distinct tests of the hypothesis.

Around each respondent's home we may draw several concentric circles referring to different "demic layers" of geographic distance: 10^0 (the respondent's distance to himself), 10^1 (the size of an average apartment or home), 10^2 (neighborhood : 100 m.), etc. Will then, when social distance tests are administered, the respondent's attitudes on the social distance test cluster significantly in discrete rings of the demic model? Will social distance tend to increase as intervening geographic distances increase?

The procedure may well be reversed. The social distance tests may precede the construction of a geographic distance model, and the clustering of the social distance choice-levels then may be analyzed in terms of possible layers of physical distance.

When empirically tested, social and geographic distance scales may not correspond—at least in some cultures. In part, however, the degree of correspondence (or correlation between the attitude statements and geographic distances) would test our hypothesis. In part, it may serve to construct purer and more universal scales of social distance. Such experimentation may serve to refine a set of social distance statements.

Figure 1 suggests the possible logarithmic relation of geographic and social distance:

³ J. Maisonneuve, "Selective Choices and Propinquity," *Sociometry*, 15:1, 2: 135-40.

⁴ John T. Gullahorn, "Distance and Friendship as Factors in the Gross Interaction," *Sociometry*, 15:1, 2: 123-34.

⁵ Marion Radke, Jean Sutherland, and Pearl Rosenberg, "Racial Attitudes in Children," *Sociometry*, 13:2: 154-71.

⁶ Emory Bogardus, "A Social Distance Scale," *Sociology and Social Research*, 17: 265-71, 1933.

⁷ Stuart C. Dodd, *Systematic Social Science* (Beirut: American University of Beirut, 1947), pp. 54-55.

FIGURE 1

Geographic distance expressed in meters

Would kill.....	10^7
Would exile.....	10^6
Would keep out of my town.....	10^5
Would keep in same town.....	10^4
Would have in neighborhood.....	10^3
Would have as nextdoor neighbor.....	10^2
Would have as guest in household.....	10^1
Would marry.....	10^0

Thus, a geographically based social distance test might be constructed by including processing (by the Thurstone equal-interval technic) a large set of candidate statements. The problem then could be restated: Can a set of statements be selected which are of equal attitudinal intervals (and of low ambiguity) which correspond to some geographic distance scaling? We hypothesize that such a social distance scale, based on geographic distances, would tend to vary less from culture to culture than the present scales (some of which include such specific culture traits as "dating with. .").

Social distance and group sizes. In a similar sense, social distance is likely to be found correlated with the sizes of in-groups. Thus, maximum proximity along the social distance continuum is expected to correlate with the respondent's attitudes to his smallest in-group, the family. Maximum social distance then may correspond to the large non-in-group, when the boundary between the largest in-group and the non-in-group is a function of the value system prevailing in a given society at the time of measurement. Today, this upper boundary of the in-group is usually designated by the term *nation* and the out-group (or non-in-group) begins beyond this boundary.

Since we are primarily interested in the modal relationships, a "demic" classification scheme may be used with reference to group sizes also. Sizes of groups may be expressed as variable powers of 10, with 10^0 , of course, standing for the self. Similarly, 10^1 would stand for the distribution of the next higher order, the lower limit of which may be taken at 0.2 times 10^1 and the upper limit 10 times the lower one. In this case, the lower limit will yield 2, which is the smallest size family unit. In the

next range, between 0.2 times 10^2 to 2 times 10^2 , we may find the frequency distribution of any individual's "primary" social life. In all the following ranges, the *knowledge of* individuals (and *contact with* them directly) becomes *knowledge about* them (and *contact with them through indirect media*). The communications media of the time and the culture available as well as *in usage* delimit the kind and intensity of this *knowledge about* with reference to the various larger groups.

Our hypothesis may be summarized as follows: Liking tends to vary with the inverse size of the in-group. Here we may emphasize that, by and large, the civilization process has tended to expand the size of the largest in-group.

Again, let us specify the double research process involved in testing this hypothesis: First, we may get the corresponding mean social distances for varying known sizes of groups and, second, we may get average sizes (e.g., spouses, families, households, co-workers and colleagues, neighbors, co-home-towners, fellow countrymen) for plurels of known social distances.

If our hypothesis finds support in the experimental data, a more precise measure of social distance may be suggested as a result. A social distance scale based on the realization of the importance of the variable group sizes may, indeed, be applicable to a number of cultures rather than to any single one only.

Social distance and time. The third hypothesis will be but a restatement of the previous ones: Liking tends to vary with the amount of time spent in the company of . . . We expect to find that maximum proximity will be positively correlated with the greatest amount of time spent with the referent individual or in the referent group⁸. Time can be expressed as an exponential progression in terms of minutes, hours, days, etc. Of these, the various powers of 10 of hours will probably yield the most realistic results. A further qualification may be necessary: These time measures may pertain only to the amounts of time "spent with. . ." during the tested individual's lifetime. Thus again, most time, including sleeping time, is spent with spouses, nearby and in the smallest in-group of 2. From that extreme, it will vary to the masses of people on the other side of the earth to whom most people hardly ever give a moment's thought.

⁸ George Homans, *The Human Group* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1950), pp. 111-12, 133, 242, 361; see also Maria Rogers, "The Human Group," *Sociometry*, 14:1:20-32, and William Foote Whyte, *Street Corner Society* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1943), p. 11.

Social distance, geographic distance, group size, and time. By suggesting three hypotheses, each pertaining to social distance and one of the other dimensions, we are not saying that geographic distance, frequency of interaction, and group size are not related to one another. It may, however, prove fruitful to test out the hypotheses by experimenting with each variable at a time.

Finally, we may want to combine all the previous hypotheses into one and say that: Liking tends to vary with the inverse geographic distance, with the inverse size of the group, and with the inverse of time not spent with the referent individual(s) and/or with the referent group(s).

If our hypotheses are shown to be substantiated, a new social distance scale might be made of statements at points of the social distance continuum which correlate highest with the continua of geographic distance, group size, and time-not-spent-with. A geographic distance scale might be devised with distance expressed in meters and with the greatest distance being half of the circumference of the earth. Geographic distance 10^0 would start from the same point as "would marry" on the social distance scale, and 10^2 would occupy the same point as "houseguest," 10^4 as "acquaintance," 10^6 as "not in neighborhood," 10^8 as "would exile," and 10^{10} as "would kill."

A group-size scale might be devised with population size being expressed by number of members in the referent group and with the largest group being represented by the world population in 1950. On this scale 10^0 would represent the same point as "would marry" on the social distance scale, 10^1 the same point as "house guest," 10^3 as "neighbor," 10^4 as "acquaintance," 10^6 as "not in neighborhood," 10^7 as "not in my town," 10^8 as "would exile," and 10^{10} as "would kill."

A time-span scale might be devised in terms of "hours spent with" (reversed scale as "hours unaware of"), and with the greatest time being represented by a fifty-year life period. In this scale 10^0 would represent the same point as "would marry," on the social distance scale, 10^1 as "house guest," 10^2 as "acquaintance," 10^3 as "not in neighborhood," 10^4 as "would exile," and 10^5 as "would kill."

Actual experimentation on the hypotheses may, of course, produce a different from "demic" relationship among the various scales. Thus, the various powers of 10 might not lead to the most satisfactory combined scale; experimentally, different numerical relationships might be indicated.

The unequal intervals of the various scales tend to indicate that we do not necessarily expect an analogous correspondence among these various scales and that both the scales to be used and the unit distances need to be determined by research.

We suggest that the area of research which we have outlined in this paper offers great possibilities for experimentation and that, if such experiments be successful, considerable advance can be made toward incorporating operationally the relatively unknown variables of geographic distance, group size, and time into the sciences of human behavior.

SOCIAL ADAPTATION AMONG JAPANESE AMERICAN YOUTH: A COMPARATIVE STUDY

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It has been generally recognized that in America many ethnic groups strive to maintain close relations with dominant Caucasoid groups. It has been shown that the extent to which members of any group become accustomed to a new society depends to a large extent on the compatibility of the values and behavioral mechanisms between the two cultures.¹ Babcock has further pointed out that the degree of acculturation is related to the ability of the new group to recognize the values of the others and to adopt them into their own cultural patterns.² The evacuation and internment of the American-Japanese during World War II presented a suitable occasion to study the extent and nature of the process of acculturation of a group which, from all outward appearances, was extremely different in both basic values systems and behavior patterns from the group it had been in contact with for more than a generation.

Caudill found that when adapting to American cultural patterns, the Nisei (second generation), in a sense, *overconformed* to American middle-class behavior. This surface overadaptability also served a very useful function in their social and personal relations with Caucasians.

Thus, while utilizing to a considerable extent a Japanese set of values and adaptive mechanisms, the Nisei in their life on the Pacific Coast before the war were able to act in ways that drew favorable comment and recognition from their white middle class peers and made them admirable pupils in the eyes of their middle class teachers. . . . What has happened here is that the peers, teachers,

*Now at U.S. Naval Hospital, Oakland, California. The opinions or assertions contained herein are those of the author and are not to be construed as official or reflecting the views of the Navy Department or the naval service at large. The writer expresses his gratitude to Dr. Harvey J. Locke for his many helpful suggestions in presenting the data here. James Nakada assisted in collecting the data in connection with another similar study.

¹ William Caudill, "Japanese American Personality and Acculturation," *Genetic Psychological Monographs*, 45: 93, 1952.

² Personal communication. The author would like to express his gratitude to Charlotte G. Babcock, M.D., of the Chicago Institute for Psychoanalysis, for reading the manuscript and offering many helpful suggestions.

employers, and fellow workers of the Nisei have projected their own values onto the neat, well-dressed, and efficient Nisei in whom they saw mirrored many of their own ideals.³

The present study was undertaken in an attempt to see if a minority group which is in intimate contact with the cultural patterns of a majority group will tend to take over certain of its patterns to such an extent that no statistically significant differences between the two groups can be found for certain variables being measured. In this investigation the over-all statistical assumption was that no reliable differences would be shown between various attitudes and patterns of family organization of selected Japanese-American youths and a comparable group of Caucasoid youths. We thus assumed a null hypothesis, and on the whole this hypothesis was supported statistically.

I. THE STUDY

Our interest, therefore, was in trying to gain more insight into some of these speculations concerning the acculturation of the younger generation Japanese-Americans into American society. It was decided to use a group of teen-age Japanese-American boys and to compare them with a group of boys with a different common ancestry.

The sample. In this study boys were selected from metropolitan Los Angeles during the spring of 1950.⁴ The generalities of the findings are somewhat limited, inasmuch as the sample represents the area studied. The groups were taken as a whole, and the individual directors insisted that all present fill out the questionnaire. Questionnaires were kept anonymous, as no attempt was made to identify any of the subjects used in the study. The experimental group consisted of 51 Japanese-American boys.⁵ The boys came from the Union Church in "Japanese Town," the Boy Scouts of America, and the Young Men's Christian Association, all of metropolitan Los Angeles. The control group consisted originally of 51 Caucasians⁶ and were from softball teams which met evenings for practice at the Tenth Street School. Therefore, the subjects in this group

³ Caudill, *op. cit.*

⁴ Sources of contact were suggested by a representative of the YMCA of Los Angeles.

⁵ Six of these subjects were eliminated during matching with the control group, bringing the total to 45 persons.

⁶ Caucasian is the term commonly used by Japanese-Americans to refer to members of the white majority. When controlled for various factors used, this group was reduced to 31 persons.

may or may not be representative of the youths in this age range living in Los Angeles in 1950. These subjects came from various parts of the city and were not predominantly from the area from which the sample was obtained.

Controls. Certain controls were used, thus eliminating many of the boys. Those finally used in each group had to be of the same age, sex, nationality, must have been attending school, and from an unbroken family unit.⁷ We thus eliminated all who were only children in a family.

Methodology. The data were collected by questionnaires and individual interviews, only the first of which will be reported here.⁸ They were collected by the author and his associate, who was a Nisei. Questionnaires were worded in the language commonly used by the youths themselves. The resultant phrasing was achieved through mingling with the youths before the questionnaire was set up. The over-all assumption was that the behavior being measured actually existed; consequently, its *intensity* was measured. It was further assumed that the items on the questionnaires would have definite meanings for the subjects, and also that the meaning which various situations have for people may well be more reliable predictors of behavior than the actual facts, as Locke⁹ and others have pointed out.

Social characteristics of the sample. The mean number of children was 3.82 as contrasted with the control group, which had 2.74 children per family. There were 3 families in the experimental group which had 1 sibling only and 5 in the control group, 6 and 13 respectively which had 2 siblings, 11 and 4 with 3 siblings, 13 and 3 with 4 siblings, 5 and 6 with 5 siblings, 4 and 0 with 6 siblings, 1 and 0 with 7 siblings, and 2 and 0 with 8 siblings (N was 45 in the experimental group and 31 in the control group).

Nationality and place of birth. All of the subjects were born in the United States; the Japanese being entirely California born, with over 90 per cent of them born in Los Angeles County. Two thirds were Nisei and the remainder Sansei.¹⁰ The "Caucasians" were also born in

⁷ Unbroken family consisted of mother and father alive and living together and at least one other sibling present in the family.

⁸ For a more comprehensive study the reader is referred to D. L. Briggs, "Process of Acculturation Illustrated by an Empirical Study: The Acquisition of Caucasoid Culture Patterns by American Japanese," unpublished A.M. thesis, University of Southern California Library, 1952.

⁹ H. J. Locke, *Predicting Adjustment in Marriage: A Comparison of a Happily Married and a Divorced Group* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1950), p. 7.

¹⁰ Third generation.

the United States but came from various ethnic backgrounds. About 35 per cent of the non-Japanese were born in California, 20 per cent in other Western states, and 30 per cent in the Mid-Western states.

Religious preference. Over two thirds of the Japanese were listed as being of Buddhist faith with one fifth Protestant and one eighth Catholic. The Caucasians were over one fifth Catholic and about one eighth were Jewish. One Caucasian indicated a Buddhist preference. The percentages of Protestants for the experimental and the control groups were 20.0 and 51.61 per cent respectively; of Catholics, 11.1 and 22.58 per cent; of Buddhists, 66.7 and 3.22 per cent; of Jewish, 0 and 12.90 per cent; none, 0 and 3.22 per cent; no reply, 2.2 and 3.22 per cent; and ambiguous replies, 0 and 3.22 per cent ($t = 2.88$, $PC .001$).

Ownership of objects. Social status can be measured in part by ownership of such things as a home, a car, and a television set. Over two thirds of the Japanese youths stated they lived in houses, and another 20 per cent lived in apartments. Of those Japanese who lived in houses, approximately 44 per cent owned their homes. Of those Caucasians who lived in houses (50%) one third owned them.

In 1950, when the data for this study were collected, the ownership of television in Los Angeles was thought to be in part indicative of social status, or striving for it. We found that approximately one fifth of the Japanese, as compared with over one half of the Caucasians, owned television sets.¹¹ This trend is interesting in view of the ease with which payment arrangements could be made for purchase of television sets, making them available to any income bracket. In contrast to the above trend, we found that a significantly greater number of the Japanese than of the Caucasians stated their family owned an automobile.¹² Whether the mere possession of an automobile was associated with social status is not known.

II. AUTHORITARIANISM AS REFLECTED IN ATTITUDES AND IN MAKING FAMILY DECISIONS

We believed that making certain decisions within the family might be related to the amount of authoritarianism present. If the degree of conformity of American-Japanese is as great as various investigators would lead us to believe, then we should expect to find no great difference between our two groups regarding items involving choice of certain objects important to the whole family.

¹¹ $CR = 5.5$.

¹² $X^2 = 6.96$ (Yates correction); $p = .03$; per cents, 86 and 58 respectively.

Choice of the family automobile. It was believed that the question of choosing the family car would show that the voice the father had was no greater among the American-Japanese than among the Caucasians. There were no statistically significant differences found between the two groups; therefore, our hypothesis seems to be at least tenable. Although the failure to find significant differences with emphasis on choice may be due to the smallness and unrepresentative nature of the sample, the question was raised that the differences may be due to socioeconomic levels of the two groups. This, however, was probably not the case, inasmuch as there was a significant difference in the opposite direction on television ownership, as just reported.

Choice of the family residence. We found no significant differences regarding who chose the family residence between the two groups. It is interesting to note, however, that the mother more often than the father made the decision in both the Japanese and Caucasian families.¹³

Discussion of problems. We also believed that the amount of authoritarian control in a family might be reflected in the persons to whom the children went to discuss their problems. One hypothesis was that in a more democratic family there is more discussion of problems of the children in the family unit than in the more paternal family, wherein the problems are taken more often to the mother, or to persons outside the immediate family. We thus hypothesized that in our two groups there would be no significant differences as to whom the children discussed their problems with, and on the whole our hypothesis was supported statistically. We did note that nearly three fourths of the Japanese kept problems within the family and about one half of the Caucasians talked them over within the family circle.

Arguments in the family. We further hypothesized that there would be no great differences in organization between the supposedly traditional paternalistic family of the Japanese and the seemingly more democratic one of the Caucasians. However, some investigators have emphasized that in the latter the structure is more flexible, thus allowing greater freedom of expression. We asked the children how often arguments arose in the family and found a significant difference between the two groups on the category "hardly ever," but the difference was in the opposite direction; that is, there appeared to be less flexibility in the families represented by the control group than in the Japanese.¹⁴ This does not

¹³ The respective per cents for the mother were 42.2 and 35.5; for the father, 8.9 and 6.5.

¹⁴ CR = 2.07; per cents, 62.2 and 87.1 for the Japanese and Caucasian respectively.

necessarily mean that the Japanese are more flexible in the family; indeed, it may mean somewhat of the reverse. It is generally known that differences of opinion are not permitted in the Japanese family; consequently, arguments can "hardly ever" occur. It may well be that the responses to this item may reveal the subjects' reactions to a white observer and may thus give indications of how the Japanese think their family *should* appear against Caucasian standards as Babcock has suggested.¹⁵

We could find no significant differences between the two groups as to how often the father had the final word on problems arising in the family. We found that the father tended to be more dominant in *both* groups.

Some writers have presented the idea that among the Japanese-American population, whose traditional patterns diverged presumably from those of the dominant Caucasian group, there is a greater degree of disapproval of the behavior of youths by the parents than in Caucasian families. This might be another indication of a social and cultural distance between generations and be one predictor of the extent of acculturation of the younger generations. We could not find this hypothesis supported by our data and, further, found that *both* groups thought their parents were at neither extreme as far as either "always" approving of their behavior or "never" doing so. At least most of the boys valued a more neutral mode of response.

Perhaps the amount of strictness which the respondents felt with regard to their parents might indicate some degree of authoritarianism which might discriminate between the two groups. We asked the subjects how strict their parents were in relation to other parents and found no reliable differences between the two groups.

The degree of difference between the two groups on whether or not they felt their behavior was restricted by their parents was believed to be indicative of certain aspects of close family organization. It has often been hypothesized that those families who are more paternal would restrict their children's behavior to a greater degree than those more democratic. We believed, however, that in our two groups there would be little or no differences and our data tended to support this hypothesis.

Likewise, we could find no significant differences between the two groups as to how particular the youths felt their parents were about their choice of companions. We could find no differences between the two groups on the question as to how different they felt their families were from other families.

¹⁵ Babcock, *op. cit.*

It was assumed that more democratic families would permit children to "talk back" to their parents more frequently than those of a more paternalistic nature. When the categories "frequently" and "sometimes" were combined into a *yes* response and "hardly ever" and "never" into a *no* response, the results did give a significant difference.¹⁶ This difference leads one to suspect that the Japanese youths, on the whole, felt they talked back more often to their parents than did the Caucasians. This difference is significant and may reflect some of the cultural conflicts between the two generations of Japanese. It was interesting to notice that none of the subjects in either group responded to the category "always" when asked how often they "talked back" to their parents.

SUMMARY

Our general hypothesis was that certain groups which are intimately associated with each other will have a high degree of acculturation. The study of the Japanese contacts and relationships with American youth seemed to provide an excellent opportunity to test this hypothesis. The indices chosen were in the general area of attitudes concerning the family as viewed by the boys.

We found the average size of the Japanese families in our study was larger than that of the Caucasoid. Both groups were entirely American born and the Japanese contained a larger portion of native-born Californians. The Japanese were predominantly Buddhist with approximately one third Protestant and Catholic; the control group was mainly Protestant. Two thirds of the Japanese families lived in houses, as compared with one half in the Caucasian group; 87 per cent of the Japanese families owned automobiles, as compared with 58 per cent of the Caucasians; one fifth of the Japanese families owned television sets, as compared with over one half of the Caucasians.

We were looking, among other things, for any possible factors which might distinguish between the two groups regarding the amount of authority in the household. Although similarities in attitudes appear on the surface, it is not believed that the patterns of family organization are the same. In general, we found no great differences between the attitudes of the two groups of boys in this sample. We did find, however, fewer family arguments reported in the Caucasian group than in the Japanese, and a larger number of Japanese "talked back" to their parents than did the Caucasian youths. We further noted that youths from both

¹⁶ CR = 2.11; per cents, 71.1 and 32.2 for the *yes* category for the Japanese and Caucasoid groups respectively.

groups reported their parents were more often concerned about their choice of companions and felt that their behavior was not restricted by their parents.

In general, the data seemed to support our hypothesis that there would be no great differences in attitudes revealed between a selected group of Japanese-Americans and a comparable group of Caucasoids. We may also tentatively assume that for the youths studied it appears that acculturation of these Japanese boys has progressed to the point where they are outwardly so much like the white youth that there is more social and cultural distance between the two generations of Japanese than between the Japanese-American boys and their Caucasoid contemporaries.

VALUE-CONFLICT IN SOCIAL DISORGANIZATION

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The idea of value-conflict has played an important part in thinking about social disorganization for several years.¹ At the same time, it has remained an imprecise notion, and the implications of its use as an organizing concept in the study of social disorganization have been little developed. This paper will propose some clarification of the nature of value-conflict, with a view toward rendering it a more effective tool of theory and research.

Before exploring value-conflict, we need to note some distinctive aspects of the social disorganization approach of which it is a part. Social disorganization focuses attention on the harmonious and inharmonious aspects of the structure of society, as such. It is concerned with the ways and degrees to which the activities implicit in the organization of the society are mutually reinforcing or mutually contradictory. Consequently, its concern with the individual is incidental, and individual satisfactions, while they may turn out to be important symptomatically, do not constitute the major criteria of social organization. In the same way, social disorganization is differentiated from the study of conformity and deviancy in individuals, or the degree to which the social norms are effectively followed in individual behavior (social control).

The activities which represent the social structure are most frequently described in terms of "norms" and "values." Social disorganization may then be conceptualized in terms of some conflicts among norms and values in a society. Social disorganization deals with ways in which activities which are in some sense the product of, and legitimized by, the social structure conflict with one another. Much the same results are obtained by stressing either conflicts among norms or conflicts among values, but it is useful to make a distinction between these two concepts.

Social norms are prescriptions regarding behavior and belief and prohibitions against certain patterns of behavior and belief. They are statements that certain types of behavior and belief should be followed

¹ Since Lawrence K. Frank's classic statement in "Social Problems," *American Journal of Sociology*, 30: 462-73, 1925, nearly all sociological writings on the subject have made use of the idea of value-conflict.

or avoided when such statements are generally accepted in a society and when each individual has the sense that they are generally accepted by others.

Social norms do not generally exist in an unequivocal sense for most activities in the society. What we conceive ideally as social norms tend in practice to be "short-circuited" into social values. Social values are objects which are regarded favorably or unfavorably, in the same manner as described for norms. As objects, values refer to something which can be secured or attained. They constitute attributes or end products of activity. Thus, the usual way of saying that one should tell the truth (norm) is to say that honesty (value) is a good thing.

Values and norms are obverse aspects of the same thing, and in some sense alternative ways of conveying the same meanings. But there are at least two important differences. First, there is generally greater agreement on values in a society than on norms, but the specific behavior meaning of values is less well defined. Thus, there will be general agreement that health, beauty, "character," and money are good things (positive values), but considerable confusion exists over what constitutes beauty and character and what particular responsibilities are imposed on the individual for the attainment of those positive values of health and money.

Second, the concept of social value is somewhat more inclusive than that of social norm. An object may be regarded as worthy of attainment, bringing its possessor social approbation, without there being any sense that others ought to pursue it. One may achieve recognition for special achievements and special attributes of personality because these are regarded as good things by the society. But it would be hard to find a norm declaring that one should develop skill at playing baseball or collecting rare manuscripts, to correspond with the value which these activities constitute.

We shall choose to consider social disorganization primarily as conflict of values, rather than of norms. We gain thereby a more inclusive framework and one closer to the reality of the loose ordering of even the society with the least number of cultural "alternatives."

Conflict of values: difficulties of application. Social disorganization may be conceived as a state of conflict among social values.² This means that certain socially sanctioned values are unattainable in practice with-

² The present discussion should be compared with Robert C. Angell's treatment of "moral integration" in terms of compatibility and adequacy of social norms. Angell does not escape the difficulties discussed below, however. See Robert C. Angell, *The Moral Integration of American Cities* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1951), especially pp. 115-22.

out violation or interference with the attainment of other social values, also socially sanctioned. Such conflicts exist either among values adhered to by all members and groups in the society or among values belonging to different subgroups in the society. In the latter instance, different groups within the society may seek values which are mutually contradictory, so that the activities of each group are interfered with by the activities of other groups. The clearest example of this type of conflict may be found in the existence of ethnic groups with diverse values and of economic classes with values which contradict those of other classes. But values which are generally accepted by most members and groups within the society may also come in conflict, as in the general acceptance of individualistic competition as a positive good at the same time that humanitarian cooperation is also regarded as a positive value in American society.³ The problem in this instance is not that one group is exclusively identified with one of these values and another group with the other, but rather that all groups accept both values in general.

Confusion immediately arises in applying the value-conflict framework, however, if the sense in which values come into conflict is not clarified. We must distinguish between *logical* incompatibility of values and incompatibility in *application*. A subject for adolescent debate is the supposed conflict between the values of honesty and humanitarianism when the doctor gives a patient a rosier picture of his health than the facts justify. It is argued that complete honesty might kill the patient and that humanitarian values require dishonesty. One must violate one value in adhering to the other. But such discussions are purely recreational. The normally socialized person in our society encounters such a situation with no sense of having to make a crucial choice, nor does he feel guilt over having violated his values of honesty. The approved course of action is clear, the individual experiences no conflicting imperatives or indecision, and there is no major group sanction for the course of pure honesty in this situation. Thus, there is certainly a logical contradiction between these values in such a situation, but there is no contradiction in application. The orderly functioning of the society is not perceptibly disturbed by such a logical contradiction, and so the latter cannot be equated with social disorganization.

Only when social values may be called upon to support contradictory patterns of behavior in actual situations can we speak of social disorganization. Thus, Myrdal's famous study of the American Negro problem

³ Kingsley Davis, Harry C. Bredemeier, and Marion J. Levy, Jr., *Modern American Society* (New York: Rinehart and Company, Inc., 1948), pp. 705-06.

is not framed as a study of social disorganization.⁴ He poses, as the "American dilemma," a logical contradiction between the "American Creed" and "the Negro's place." But it does not necessarily follow from the logical contradiction that most people in American society perceive any dilemma here. In fact, the overenthusiastic student of race relations may be distressed to find how many people and groups sincerely feel no disloyalty to democratic ideals in their support of segregation and discrimination.

How is it possible, then, for values to be in logical contradiction without coming into contradiction in application? One answer may be attempted by borrowing an idea from the study of personal disorganization. Values are not all equal in importance. Rather, they fall in hierarchies. So long as such hierarchies are clearly understood, logical conflicts of values may be easily resolved in practice in favor of the more important value. Thus, the humanitarian value may be regarded as more important than honesty, so that the individual resolves the foregoing dilemma on this basis.

While such a formulation is of some help in understanding value-conflicts, it has clear limitations. The weighing of alternative values and selection of the more important does not actually seem to take place in most situations. Furthermore, choices are not always consistent with the notion that the more important value predominates. The police officer may provoke, with public approval, a high-speed chase on crowded highways, which endangers many lives, in order to capture someone violating a relatively minor traffic rule. Yet the policeman and the public would certainly rank protection of human life a higher value than punishment for the particular minor traffic offense.

Another formulation which is a special variant of the value-conflict position is the statement of *anomie* by Robert Merton.⁵ By dichotomizing values into means and ends, he observes that either means or ends may become unduly stressed in a society so that the one is not adequately qualified by the other. Money is pursued in American society as an end frequently without attention to the socially approved means for its attainment. Or it is possible for a society to become excessively formalized, emphasizing means so rigidly that they cease to be tested against ends

⁴ Gunnar Myrdal, *An American Dilemma* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1944), especially pp. xlv-lii. Myrdal's entire introductory statement rests implicitly on the assumption that a logical contradiction of norms must be disturbing to the general population in America.

⁵ Robert K. Merton, "Social Structure and Anomie," *American Sociological Review*, October 1938, pp. 672-82.

achieved. Anomie is thus conceived as a special form of value-conflict. Socially approved means constitute limitations on socially approved ends, and vice versa, but value-conflict in a meaningful sense exists only when the balance between the two is lost.

This scheme is difficult to apply, however, since the distinctions between means and ends are not easily made in practice. Values become means or ends only in the context of a particular act in progress, and there are no values which constitute ends all of the time or means all of the time. To apply the scheme requires that the investigator determine what are really ends—a highly dubious process. Thus, in American society the pursuit of money (an end) without respect to the approved means can be called an excessive emphasis on goals. But it is equally logical to insist that money is regarded as a means toward more ultimate goals such as happiness, and that the excessive pursuit of money is a concentration on means at the expense of ends.

The empirical nature of values. Part of our problem may be that the nature of a social value has not been sufficiently clarified. Values are a product of ongoing behavior. While values, once conceptualized, acquire an existence prior to and partly independent of the activities to which they are applied, their general vagueness leaves much room for specific application to be adapted to the nature of the ongoing activity and to change as the activity proceeds.

Values are generalizations, through which different acts can be related and through which a particular activity may be seen as part of a larger setting. Since every activity is unique in many respects, values are necessarily quite incomplete designators for any particular activity.

Values are conceptualizations. But the conceptualization is often misleading. Values are generally conceptualized in absolute terms, but applied with distinct situational limitations. Freedom of speech, whether presented as a value to be upheld or a norm (as in the American Constitution) is formulated in absolute terms. And yet there are laws against profanity, disturbance of the peace, libel, plagiarism, advocating overthrow of the government by violence, and laws which designate the times and places at which certain utterances are permissible. These laws do not generally trouble people as inconsistencies. Occasional discussions of this point are largely recreational; that is, they are not taken as serious discussions which should lead to rectifying action. Challenges are normally met by the statement that these are not the things which are meant by freedom of speech, or that these are not inconsistent with the *spirit* of free speech. Such answers are disturbing to the logical purist, but they accurately reflect the societal consensus.

Before we conclude summarily that people are inconsistent, we need to recognize that social values have two aspects which we may call the explicit and the implicit. The absolute conceptualization of the value is a symbol, an incomplete representation standing for a body of understandings regarding the value. This body of understandings defines the application of the value in different kinds of situations. We may speak of these understandings as the implicit limitations on the applications of values. On the basis of normal exposure to the culture in question, the individual acquires these understandings. They constitute the empirical content of a value. But they are not logically coherent and hence are not subject to neat summarization.

Both in the social development of values and in the individual learning of values, the experience of a multitude of specific situations precedes the generalized value statement. As conditions change, large bodies of people sense that a particular course of action in a certain type of situation is rewarding or unsatisfactory. Into such a situation comes the ideologist, who offers a formulation of an established value in such a way that it sanctions the preferred course of action.

Similarly, no learning of the symbolic value formulations can be a guide to behavior in a society. The "stranger" may indeed find it more difficult to learn the effective values of a culture to the degree to which he has prepared himself with a systematic learning of the explicit value formulations. The explicit formulations are effective guides only to those who have already so fully internalized the multitude of situational directives that they have become dulled to the perception of the logical implications of the explicit value statements of the society.

The confusion arising over apparent contradictions of values which do not seem to constitute contradictions in application comes out of mistaking the absolute formulation typical of values for the actual behaviorally relevant content of the values. In fact, it is likely that the absolute logical extension of any accepted value to correspond with its conceptual formulation would necessarily bring it into conflict with many or most other values.

For the most part, the arraying of values in hierarchies of importance is an effort to conceive in rational terms the situational specificity of values. In some few ill-defined situations in which ongoing activity does not dictate the choice, the tendency to think of values in hierarchies may determine choice. Or in the case of some individuals who value an intellectual approach to situations more than do most, choice may be on this basis. Conceptualization of values into hierarchies is most frequently a

technique for supporting an action under way whose legitimacy is challenged by some groups who contend that a different value is applicable to the situation in question. Thus, condemnation proceedings are justified by calling community welfare a higher value than private property. But the interest groups supporting such a definition do not support the same value-primacy in other situations and would not define the situation in this manner were not a sufficiently powerful opposition able to insist on the applicability of the value of private property in this situation.

Disorganization and the implicit content of values. While there are some values held by subgroups in a society which are not recognized as legitimate by others, most disorganization consists of conflicting interpretations of the application of certain values. There is agreement on the symbolic level of the value, but there is disagreement regarding its applicability to situations. In a smooth-functioning society, there is consensus concerning value applications, and logically contradictory values (which will always be present) are well "insulated" from one another in practice through their situational applications.

This formulation is consistent with the way in which people and organizations, in practice, deal with the logically possible application of two different values to a single situation. Rather than make judgments by weighing the importance of one value against the other, individuals and organizations make choices as to *which one* applies. Thus, the minister in a businessman's church who makes suggestions about employer-employee relations is not told that profits are more important than religious values. He is told, rather, that the subject matter is business, and hence is not the sphere to which religious values apply. Such partitionings of the areas which belong to different sets of values seem to be the stuff of which a smooth-functioning social order is made. The breakdown of these partitions, and the erection of different partitions by different subgroups within the society, seem to constitute most of social disorganization.

The processes of establishing and maintaining the partitioning of situations to which different values apply should accordingly be one of the major areas of investigation in the study of social disorganization. For example, in the maintenance of the separation between values which might conflict logically, certain types of imagery may be important. Thus the stereotype, as a type of imagery, may function to preserve the separation between values of racial inequality and values of general equality. The stereotype of the happy, carefree Negro plantation worker renders the value of general equality inapplicable and the value of subordination innocuous in its application.

The circumstances under which a subgroup within a society comes to sponsor a different understanding concerning the application of certain values from that held by other groups in the society should be another central concern of the study of social disorganization. The place of segmentalization of activities in the society, the limitation of communication between groups, and the tendency for organizations to be conceived as the sponsors of particular values apply here. Within the academic world, for example, the scientific method tends to be exalted and extended in its application beyond that approved elsewhere. Scientific method is a positive value throughout the society, but divergence develops regarding the situations to which it applies. Some of the conflict between educational institutions and the rest of society seems to revolve about this sort of divergence.

Such conditions as the foregoing, which signalize disorganization in some degree, need to be differentiated from the kind of organization through which a specialized group is shielded from interaction with the rest of society at a value level. In scientific research organizations, for example, the extensive application of scientific method may prevail. Interaction with the general public, however, is not on the basis of scientific method as a value, but solely on the basis of the product of the method, which is favorably evaluated in the society. This type of value divergence does not become value-conflict and social disorganization.

Finally, social change can be meaningfully related to social disorganization by a study of its impact on the implicit or situational aspect of values. Shifts in intergroup relations, such as those accompanying war and economic dislocation, alter the significance of traditional courses of action. Instead of relinquishing the old explicit value formulations which legitimized these outmoded courses of action, people become receptive to reinterpretation of the values. A situation is thus created in which social values do not constitute effective directives to consistent action within the society. At the same time, differential interest positions and differential willingness to make reinterpretations foster group alignments about alternative definitions of the situational applications of values. The resulting state is one of value-conflict, and a degree of social disorganization characterizes the society.

SOCIAL DISTANCE IN THE PHILIPPINES*

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Social distance refers to the degrees of sympathetic understanding that function between persons, between groups, and between persons and groups.¹ Great social distance is sometimes referred to as social farness, and small degrees of social distance as social nearness.² In the first part of this paper (I) the term is used in the farness sense; in the second part (II), in the nearness sense.

I

Social distance in the Philippines involves the following interlocking factors:

1. The rapid cultural change culminates in marked cultural lag. The clash of attitudes arising from this meteoric change creates social cleavages, such as the discarding of old customs and traditions by the young generation while the old generation holds on to them. The situation is further aggravated by the continued advance of technology and science while religion and morality lag behind.

2. The century-old strained landlord-tenant relationship increases social distance. At the top of the socioeconomic bloc are the aristocrats and the wealthy who are exerting powerful influence upon the national life of the people. The inequitable distribution of wealth and the undesirable relation between labor and capital make the rich richer and the poor poorer.

3. The social distance caused by educational institutions poses serious problems. The so-called educated class appear as a distinct group, and their college degrees keep them out of touch with the common man. Often school competition reaches the "cut-throat type" that divides the community into rival factions instead of cooperating groups.

4. The existing interchurch or theological controversy widens the social distance among the Christians. This religious rivalry is the result of overemphasis on "Churchianity" and not enough emphasis on

*An abstract of the paper on "Social Distance in the Philippines," which was read before the Eighth Pacific Science Congress, Manila, November 16, 1953.

¹ E. S. Bogardus, "Social Distance and Its Implications," *Sociology and Social Research*, 22:462, 1938.

² Hunt, Corpus and Collier, *Elementary Sociology* (Manila: University of the Philippines Press, 1953), p. 155.

Christianity, which is founded on the philosophy of universal love and brotherhood of man. Religious factions would do well if they could (a) put more emphasis on love of God and fellow men, (b) join forces in the crusade against vice, prostitution, criminality, juvenile delinquency, immorality, laziness, indecent motion pictures, and alcoholism, and (c) unite upon the crusade for cooperation and for the building of the Kingdom of God, of social justice and brotherhood of man.

5. Professional distance serves as the retarding element to social progress. A large number of worth-while community projects have failed or ended in procedural processes because of the so-called leader's main ambition for personal aggrandizement, the desire to get the so-called first credit, and the thwarting influence of professional jealousy upon seeing the success and creativity of others.

6. Geographic isolation results in cultural distance, due to the suspicion and the destructively critical attitude toward the diversified ways of living, beliefs, customs, folkways, and mores. This undesirable attitude of local groups has slowed down the progress of nation building because it tends to develop intense regional loyalties at the expense of national unity.

7. The height of racial tension is between the Filipinos and the Chinese. There are still sporadic outbursts of anti-American feeling because of the so-called American meddling in political affairs. But despite this there exists real desire for understanding among the different races in the Philippines. In the United States, the race relationship follows certain stages: economic welcome, antagonism, fair-play tendency, and quiescence. In the Philippines, the postwar race relationship does not follow these stages. A study of the postliberation Filipino attitudes toward G.I. Joe³ shows a definite pattern: (a) expectation attitude, (b) attitude of gratitude, (c) sympathetic attitude, (d) jealous attitude, (e) antagonistic attitude, and (f) accommodation.

II

Some interesting attempts at decreasing social distances are taking place: namely, (1) the gradual breaking down of the Visayan-Ilocano-Tagalog rivalry due to the harmonizing influence of religion, education, transportation and communication, radio, press, and the increasing number of exogamous marriages (all of which help to overcome the existing geographical, spatial, social, and cultural barriers between the Filipino people); (2) the passage of sound labor legislation which is dedicated

³ Catapusan and Catapusan, *Sociology*, Manila, 1953, pp. 476-502.

to minimize friction between labor and capital; (3) the civic-organizational approach to the general uplift of rural areas; (4) the widespread adoption of community schools which bring the people close to each other; (5) the availability of scholarships and exchange of experts and scholars; (6) the work camps for better interracial understanding; (7) the UNESCO's attempt at achieving global racial understanding; and (8) the MSA-PHILCUSA partnership to uplift rural conditions.

But despite all these there remain yet to be realized and implemented: (1) the promotion of interfaith cooperation and tolerance among the churches; (2) a dynamic Filipinization program, a way of educating the aliens to appreciate the best that the Filipinos can offer and to develop love for the adopted land and people; (3) the organization of intercultural workshops which would provide the educators of the Philippines a laboratory for intercultural understanding; and (4) the promotion of Sino-Filipino cooperation looking toward a total economic mobilization program of the country.⁴ Basic facts are: (1) There is still a large undeveloped agricultural area which can be brought more rapidly than at present into cultivation through Philippine-Chinese cooperation. (2) Many Chinese come from rural districts in China who are competent in farming and therefore capable of contributing toward the development of the country. (3) The Chinese by their nature of taking economic risk will do well in farming.

The fourth proposal is built on the premise that even the most economically developed countries of the world have had to open their doors to foreign labor and capital. For example, when the United States was constructing railroads, the Americans had to import Chinese coolies; the Filipinos, Italians, and Mexicans were imported to develop the vast agricultural areas; the Germans, Norwegians, and the Swiss people came to work in the mines. Japan, despite her extreme nationalism, had to welcome American and British capital to develop her resources and industries. In the Philippines the Chinese have concentrated in commercial undertakings because this is the only field open to them. If big land areas had been opened to them for cultivation by leasing, not owning, they would have contributed much to the agricultural development of this country.

In connection with the above proposal, two difficulties may be mentioned—the necessity of threshing out all legal or constitutional aspects, if any, and the necessity of determining the place and the amount of land

⁴ The *Fukien Times Year Book*, Manila, 1953, pp. 37-38 ff.

to be declared open to the Chinese agriculturists. In order to ward off the prevalent apprehension regarding eventual ownership of the land by the Chinese, some writers on the subject proposed that the government should limit the length of lease, but make it long enough to permit the lessee to get a fair return on his investment. The area should be limited to the capability of, for example, a group of 1,000 progressive Chinese farmers to cultivate the land at a given period of time. Another thousand may be absorbed after so many years have elapsed or at any given interval that may be required by law.

The proposed land-lease program for the Chinese may give rise to the following benefits: (1) It will help to minimize the unemployment situation in the country. (2) The Chinese farmers would contribute much toward a greater farm diversification program. (3) It will help reduce the importation of food like potatoes, onions, beans, cereals, and root crops and thus help the Philippines toward self-sufficiency. (4) The availability of sufficient food supply and increased employment would stave off social unrest and, in keeping down production costs in industry, enable the Filipinos to meet foreign competition.

The leaders and educators should constantly ask themselves: What can be done to develop proper social attitudes among the old and young generations and among the different races and creeds in the Philippines so that the various phases and degrees of social distance in the Philippines may be minimized? What activities and projects may be undertaken? The present vision is insufficient; it needs to be enlarged and to be followed by action.

INTERACTION AMONG MALE ALCOHOLIC INMATES*

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The purpose of this article is to present in a general way the process of interaction among male alcoholic inmates in a series of group experiences. This series is known as teaching-counseling group sessions and was conducted with individuals at the Los Angeles City Jail. As such, it appears desirable to indicate that whatever conclusions are reached may be applicable only to the present study, although research implications may indicate further practical possibilities with similar individuals in varying environments.

THE SUBJECTS

1. *Male alcoholic inmates.* Individuals in attendance at the teaching-counseling group sessions were (a) arrested and sentenced by a court in the City of Los Angeles for sixty days or more because of reasons of intoxication; (b) their sentence was being served in the Los Angeles City Jail; (c) in addition to their present arrest and sentence, records also indicated that they had been arrested and sentenced for reasons of intoxication on two or more previous occasions in the City of Los Angeles; and (d) their history of drinking was of a five-year or longer period of duration.

It should also be added that within the limits of the stated definition of "male alcoholic inmate," individuals who may have lost contact with reality, extreme physical deteriorates, and extreme mental defectives are not included. The subjects in attendance at the teaching-counseling group sessions appear to represent a fair cross section of individuals who are incarcerated in the City Jail for reasons of intoxication.

*This paper is part of an investigation, "An Experiment in Group Counseling with Male Alcoholic Inmates," made in meeting the requirements for the degree of doctor of philosophy at the University of Southern California, 1952-53. The study was made possible through the cooperation and assistance of the Administration of the Los Angeles City Jail and the Adult Education Branch of the Los Angeles City Schools. In this connection, special gratitude is due to the Welfare and Rehabilitation Division of the Bureau of Corrections of the Los Angeles City Police Department and to the administration of the Lincoln Evening High School of Los Angeles, California. The content of this paper and of the study is the sole responsibility of the investigator.

2. *Method of selection.* The Welfare and Rehabilitation Division of the Bureau of Corrections of the Los Angeles City Police Department selected the subjects while they were being processed in the City Jail. Availability due to work schedule was the main consideration in determining an individual's attendance in the sessions.

3. *Number and composition.* Seventy-eight male alcoholic inmates began and completed a series of four teaching-counseling group sessions. This number included twelve Negroes and sixty-six Caucasians. Twenty-seven individuals were single, eleven were married, seven were widowers, and twenty-two were divorced.

4. *Age, intelligence, and schooling.* The age range for those in attendance at teaching-counseling group sessions was from 28 to 73 years with a mean age of 47.3 years. These individuals had a Beta IQ range of 68 to 125, with a mean Beta IQ of 97.8. Also, the completed school grades of this group range from 6 to 16, with a mean school grade completion of 8.6 years.

TEACHING-COUNSELING GROUP SESSIONS

The teaching-counseling group sessions were characterized as follows: (1) Each group session convened once a week during a period of 4 weeks and was of a 3-hour duration, including a 15-minute recess. There was a series of three 4-week sessions. (2) There were two separate group sessions operating during each 4-week session—one meeting in the morning, the other meeting in the evening, and each having its own teacher-counselor. Inmates were assigned only to a morning or an evening session and completed the course of their attendance with the same group. (3) Each group session contained not less than nineteen or more than twenty-two male alcoholic inmates.

The following brief account of four teaching-counseling group sessions¹ includes some typical remarks which were recorded. These are indicated to point up the process of interaction among male alcoholic inmates. Numbers are used to correspond with an alphabetical arrangement of names.

1. *First session.* The first teaching-counseling group session is usually marked by a great deal of suspicion, hostility, and feelings of insecurity among the inmates in attendance. In addition to complaints about the city fathers, law enforcement individuals, and groups, there

¹ These four teaching-counseling group sessions are not to be considered as sufficient in order to develop lasting results. However, they may help to indicate trends which can become part of a long-term rehabilitation process.

seems to be a general atmosphere of "What can we get out of a thing like this?" The ensuing remarks occurred in the midst of the session.

9: Mr. Lerner! Tell me! Does one drink make an alcoholic?

4: Besides, how can a class like this help me? I've been drinking all my life. You ain't going to cure me and you ain't going to make the guys who arrest me change. All I want is to be left alone. I—(pause)—I— (He was interrupted by another group member.)

7: That's what we all want. Just leave us alone and you can see for yourself how well things would go. You guys are all wrong about us. (His hands were slightly shaking at regular intervals while he was talking.)

Teacher-counselor: It seems as though some of you feel deeply hurt about a lot of things.

8: Look! Wouldn't you feel the same? You drink! They pick you up! Then they take you to a judge who has different ways of handling each man. One guy gets thirty and one. Another gets sixty and one. Some guys just get a fine. I can't understand it. It ain't right. Me, I've got a family and a job. Shouldn't they take that into account in sentencing a person? Why do things like this have to happen? It ain't right! (He started to cough, after which there was a rather long period of silence.)

Though much hostility is usually manifested during the first session, the group is oriented to the idea that whatever is expressed by any individual will not react against him in any manner. Stress is laid upon such characteristics as the importance of talking about the things we feel without a feeling of shame and the advisability of being honest with one's self.

2. *Second session.* It appears that the second teaching-counseling group session is characterized by somewhat less hostility than was the first meeting. The group members have evidently discussed some of the effects of the first session among themselves. The following typical remarks point this up.

3: It seems to me we covered a lot last week. As a matter of fact, several of us were discussing this idea among ourselves. It's funny. It was only a class, but it seemed to stay with me all week.

Comments: The effects of any session appear to carry over into the jail tanks as a topic of conversation. One male alcoholic inmate once remarked, "These darn meetings never seem to end even if there is no class."

2: I guess that's right.

6: Suppose I'm honest with myself. How will this help me to quit drinking?

Comments: Generally, statements such as was made by number six are designed to evoke a reassuring statement on the part of the teacher-counselor, though they may reveal a great deal of hostility and suspicion.

Teacher-counselor: How do you think it may help you? (He was looking specifically at number six when he spoke.)

6: (A look of surprise shone upon his face.) Well, I—(pause)—I mean I don't really know. I suppose when we talk we say things that kind of hurt. Well, I mean like feeling what you're saying. Soon you just keep on talking and you find you're saying things you didn't want anyone to know. (His right hand began to tremble and there was a slight quiver in his voice. He was blushing.) You know, it's like this. I think if you keep on saying what you feel you soon feel kind of ashamed of what you've done. You keep on drinking and soon you've hurt yourself, your family, and all of your friends. It's hard, but it's the truth and the truth hurts. It always hurts. I suppose that's why it's hard to be honest with yourself. (As he finished talking his right hand was no longer trembling and his blushing had ceased.)

The group climate during the second session, while less hostile than the first, still seems to contain much doubt and suspicion. In general, major topics for discussion appear to be centered around the excuses people offer for their behavior and why some people drink. There are also expressions concerning reactions toward airing feelings.

3. *Third session.* The third teaching-counseling group session offers evidence of greater participation by the group members than was the case in the two previous sessions. The following are some typical recorded remarks.

4: The more I sit and listen to others and to Mr. Lerner, the more I seem to believe you have to depend upon yourselves. You can't depend upon others.

Teacher-counselor: (He looked specifically at number four.) Is this one of the things we are hoping to achieve through these meetings?

4: I guess so.

19: Well, suppose it is. Can you tell us what we have to do to quit ruining our lives? I once got bit by a lousy bug—the bottle. Now I find myself unable to live without it. What a messed-up deal life can be!

18: All we talk about in here is drinking! Can't we talk about something else? I'm a drinking man. I wouldn't say I'm too bad a drinker. In here I've learned a lot by listening to others. I sure don't want to get messed up, but I would like to talk about other things.

Teacher-counselor: (He looked specifically at number eighteen.) What would you like to talk about?

18: (He spoke with a slightly trembling voice.) Well, it's like this. I don't mind talking about drink. But what do some people in this group do when they get out of here? They have no clothes, no job, no family, nothing. All they have is themselves. So they go right back to the old joints on Fifth and Main. How can people quit doing rotten things under these conditions? Even if we learn what makes us drink in this class, you ain't going to solve our other problems. All I can say is that our lives are too messed up to be helped by a group of this kind. Talk is cheap, but action is what counts, not just classes.

Teacher-counselor: Perhaps it would be better if we didn't have any classes of this kind. (There appeared to be a surprised look on the faces of most of the group members. It was quite evident the remark was unexpected, even though it was stated in a matter-of-fact manner. A few moments of silence were followed by the coughing of one of the group members who soon left the group to go to the washroom.)

3: Mr. Lerner! I don't think that's the case. The classes—these kinds of meetings—I mean are important. Let's quit kidding ourselves. The more we listen to others—well, the more we should be able to profit from their mistakes. I don't think these classes should be cut out. (There were nods of approval from most of the group members. Also, the person who had left the group to go to the washroom returned to his place. A few moments of silence followed.)

The third teaching-counseling group session also appears to be characterized by a more direct approach to their problems on the part of the inmates as compared with the previous meetings.

4. *Fourth session.* The fourth teaching-counseling group session usually reveals a greater spontaneity of response on the part of the inmates as compared with previous meetings. The following are some typical recorded remarks made during the final session.

11: Who cares what we are? I think it's more important not to come back here any more. I've learned my lesson. I'm not returning here any more. They can keep this "hotel." I've had all the free room and board I want for a long time.

16: Amen!

8: Well, now that we're together, ain't it better to find out where we go from here? I'd like to know. (There was a brief period of silence.)

9: (Looking directly at number eight) Wherever you go depends upon you from now on. The same goes for me and everybody else in here. These classes are O.K., but we have to keep moving.

20: So we move, so what?

4: I don't think it's just the moving that counts. It all boils down to why and where you're going. Just moving doesn't get you nowhere.

5: That's true.

6: So we're back again where we were. Where do we go from here? Who cares? I'd like to stay out of here for good. I wish I could quit coming back here. This is not my idea of right living.

18: If anyone wants to live right you have to quit making with the bottle. That's all there is to it. It's sound Christian living that counts.

2: I should hope so.

13: It's so hard to quit the stuff. It just is too much to expect. Yet I know it has to be done.

3: Mr. Lerner! Why don't we start talking about some of the things we discussed last week? You know! Stuff like growing up, responsibility, giving and taking, and all kinds of things like that instead of just talking. I think you said this was our last class. Let's make the most of it!

18: It's really funny. At first I thought these classes were silly. I still feel that a lot of things we talk about—well—they don't help too much. But the general idea is O.K. Especially, the idea of not being a "baby."

Teacher-counselor: What about this idea of being a "baby"? Would someone like to explain that?

3: As I see it, when we leave here we are on our own. We can do what we like with ourselves. So it means working hard and doing right by ourselves and those around us.

15: I wish cops and judges would do right by us.

17: Here we go again! What do we want from the cops and judges? They don't make us drink. It's like I learn in AA. You've got to learn to be on your own two feet. That's all there is to it!

Inmates will often emphasize the point that, while they do not agree with many things which have been discussed during the previous sessions, they do not question the worth-whileness of such group experiences. They appear to be primarily interested during the final session in community agencies and other helpful recourses available to them upon release. Also, the final session seems to be characterized by a lesser degree

of hostility than was the case in all three previous sessions. Instead of wondering "What is this all about?" inmates seem to reveal an attitude of "Where do we go from here?"

5. *Summary and conclusions.* An attempt was made in this article to present in a general manner the process of interaction among male alcoholic inmates who attended a series of four teaching-counseling group sessions at the Los Angeles City Jail. There appears to be a decrease of hostility on the part of members as expressed verbally when the discussion of the fourth session is compared with those of the other three meetings. However, it should be stressed that there is no implication of clear-cut lines of demarcation to each session. The effects of one session probably blend into all other sessions. The discussions are carried over into the jail tanks and back into the sessions, making each experience a unique experience.

The interacting process occurring during the sessions seems to indicate a trend from a "testing" and orientation period through a less tense experience to an attitude of "What do we do now?" Perhaps this attitude is also arrived at because most of the men seem to realize that the fourth session is their final one.

The process of interaction among male alcoholic inmates in attendance at teaching-counseling group sessions appears also to include the following: (1) the attitudes and feelings of the inmates toward themselves, (2) the attitudes and feelings toward each other, (3) the attitudes and feelings toward the teacher-counselor and other authoritative figures, (4) the influence of the immediate environment of the jail and administrative cooperation, and (5) miscellaneous factors.

Finally, the primary value of the sessions seems to rest upon the fact that the inmates are experiencing a form of release through verbalization, interchange of ideas, and the arousal of a feeling of personal worth without fear of reprisal. This may lead to an inducement to think seriously about one's life, particularly in terms of making socially acceptable changes upon release.

THE VALUE IMPLICATIONS OF POPULAR FILMS

FREDERICK ELKIN

McGill University

It has long been argued by many Hollywood producers and motion picture exhibitors that it is the primary social function of popular movies to provide entertainment. It is not in our American movie-going tradition, they say, to look upon popular films as educational, propagandistic, or thought provoking; people go to the movies to relax and escape from the tensions and cares of their everyday lives, not to hear ideas and messages.

Assuredly, it is true that the mass of Americans go to the movies for recreation, to enjoy themselves. However, it is equally true that they cannot escape ideas and messages.

In any society, the norms—the ideas of what are proper and improper, right and wrong, good and bad—are in part explicitly formulated and in part implicitly suggested. The norms may be openly stated or they may be implied in everyday behavior and the pronouncement of other values. It is in the latter area of implicit norms that popular films have their primary social significance.

The discussion that follows focuses about the popular film; however, the argument could be directed equally well to magazine stories, comic booklets, radio serials, comedy television programs, and popular songs, whose "social function" is likewise said to be to entertain and to "give the people what they want."

Every film, whether it be melodrama, drama, comedy, or farce, expresses some norms, intentionally or unintentionally. By virtue of the fact that a movie occurs in given settings, has characters, and tells a story, it suggests that, depending on the occasion, one type of behavior and feeling is appropriate and another type is inappropriate; that some goals are worthy and others are unworthy; that certain types of men are heroic and others are villainous; that some actions merit praise and others merit censure; that certain ideas are serious and others are comic; that certain relationships are pleasant and others are unpleasant.

For purposes of discussion, we might distinguish between those norms which focus about the customary and routinely proper aspects of our society and those which focus about themes, that is, about the explicit or implicit "messages" of the film.

In every film there are innumerable implications about the customs and proper ways of behaving in our society—certain clothes are worn; certain foods are eaten at breakfast; certain ritualistic ceremonies are performed at weddings and others at funerals; greetings are appropriately exchanged when two friends meet; distinctive duties are evidenced in the behavior of doctors, waitresses, publicity agents, night club singers, and district attorneys; Christmas and Easter are appropriately celebrated at given times in the year; a certain behavior is proper in church and another behavior at a cocktail party; hospitals are employed for one function and public schools for another. These implications concerning the proper customs and responses ordinarily so directly reflect patterns of our culture that we are completely unaware of them.

It is in the themes or "messages" of films that we most clearly find value implications. When the film concerns subjects which the society considers to be social problems, the themes are ordinarily quite evident. *Home of the Brave* and *Lost Boundaries* suggest that it is wrong and not in accord with our democratic values to feel hatred toward Negroes solely because they are Negroes; *Snake Pit* suggests that persons who have certain types of psychological breakdowns can be cured with sympathetic and proper treatment; *Grapes of Wrath* suggests that the Oakies undeservedly received harsh treatment from the California fruit growers.

The major themes are also quite evident in most crime-investigator stories, war films, westerns, and other action melodramas. The standard western, for example, generally suggests that criminals will be caught and punished; that it is meritorious to fight for justice and morality; that in a struggle between two men, the strongest, bravest, and cleverest will be victorious; that individuals should be judged on the basis of their personal characteristics and capabilities rather than their wealth and parentage; and that life in the pioneer West was dramatic and exciting.¹

The themes are ordinarily not so explicit in less serious films. However, here too there are characteristic patterns. In a Betty Grable musical, for example, it is often suggested that love triumphs over all obstacles; that simple misunderstandings can cause considerable unhappiness; that the world of showfolk is exciting and glamorous; that success in love is more important than wealth or fame; that a girl may appear sexy, but really be good, moral, and clean-cut; and that women are more capable of resolving emotional problems than are men.

¹ For a more complete analysis of the "Western," see F. Elkin, "The Psychological Appeal of the Hollywood Western," *Journal of Educational Sociology*, October 1950. For a thematic analysis of the film "The Next Voice You Hear," see F. Elkin, "God, Radio, and the Movies," *Hollywood Quarterly*, Winter 1950.

Even the out-and-out Hollywood farces are replete with significant themes, indirect and hidden as the themes may be. The Abbott and Costello films, for example, often suggest that a beautiful girl is not likely to love a man who is comic in appearance; that circumstantial evidence can incriminate innocent persons; that "smart alecs" are likely to take advantage of simple people; that those who commit crimes are scoundrels; that frightened persons may resort to boasting to keep up their spirits; and that a man who is fat and ludicrous deserves our sympathy.

We are less aware that these "nonmessage" films have themes and implications partly because the films so directly reflect norms and values of our culture and partly because we have so often met the same plot and characters in radio programs, magazine stories, novels, fairy tales, and other movies. Because we are less consciously aware of their themes and implications, however, it does not follow that these films are any the less "socially significant."

Such norm and thematic analysis of films—or of detective stories, soap operas, comic strips, novels, or popular songs—is of less significance in itself than as a prelude to further researches. We might ask, for example, how such themes and implications serve to develop and reinforce our ideas of what is normal, proper, and worthy in American society; whether the impact of such films varies among ethnic or social class subgroups of our society; how peoples of "non-American" cultures interpret and are affected by such values; whether and, if so, how such films serve as a device for social control; or whether certain themes and implications are more potent because they are "sugarcoated" as entertainment and because of an implicit assumption in their presentation that they are not open to dispute. The problems, it is evident, are many.

A SOCIAL HISTORY OF GUATEMALA

EMORY S. BOGARDUS
University of Southern California

A social trend is a long-term series of changes in the ways of doing and thinking of a people. Its time-dimensional aspect is basic. A historical view is being taken in this analysis of social trends in Guatemala. It begins with the earliest reports concerning the arrival of Mayan people in the general area of which Guatemala is now a central part and extends over the intervening centuries. While the origins of the Mayas are uncertain, these people seem to have been living in the area of present-day Guatemala, northern Honduras, and southern Mexico as early as 500 B.C., if not earlier. Six long-term social trends will be noted as they have occurred in the past in the Guatemala area during a period of perhaps twenty-five centuries.

1. *Expanding Mayan trend.* It appears that the Mayas were more or less nomadic until they developed a substantial corn, or maize, culture. With special attention being given to the cultivation of an elemental "tall grass" called "teosinte" by the Mayas, its seeds or kernels furnished a dependable food supply.¹ Hence, the Mayas changed from nomadic to a settled hoe-culture type of living. Then they were able to give special attention to their various divinities through the development of certain of the arts in which these divinities were honored in one way or another. Their architecture developed in the form of temples, monuments, monoliths, stelae. Some of the latter at Quirigua, Guatemala, stood twenty-five or more feet above the ground and weighed as much as fifty tons. Their temples were pyramidal in shape, for example, those at Zaculeu, Guatemala. The temples at Zaculeu suggest a noteworthy degree of social organization, for their day and location.

The expanding Mayan trend reached into the ideological realm with its complicated religion pantheon, its numeral system, its hieroglyphics, and its astronomical and calendar systems. Its divinities with their hierarchical arrangement were conceived as affecting every aspect of daily activities. Its numerical system was vigesimal, that is, it was developed from 0 to 20. The Mayan astronomers achieved interesting development with three calendar systems, one based on the sun, one on the moon, and one on the brightest star in the heavens (at certain sea-

¹ For an interesting maize legend, see Lily Aguirre, *The Land of Eternal Spring* (New York: The Patio Press, 1949), pp. 18-20.

sons), namely, Venus. The Maya-Venus system was based on the discovery by the Mayas that Venus makes thirteen complete revolutions around the sun while the earth makes eight of such revolutions. Their solar year had eighteen months of twenty days each, with five extra days being provided annually and an additional one occasionally.

The climax of the Mayan expansion came at least a thousand years ago. A lull occurred, due perhaps to droughts or wars. It involved migration and a new expansion lasting a few centuries in Yucatan—for instance, at and around Chichen Itza. The expanding Mayan trend reached truly remarkable achievements, considering its rise without backgrounds, its timeless isolation many centuries before the so-called "discovery" of America by Columbus. The Mayas have been described by a leading Maya authority, Morley, as "the most brilliant aboriginal people on the planet."²

2. *The shrinking Mayan trend.* By the thirteenth century the Mayas passed the zenith of their achievements, and hence the question arises: What slowed them up or what stopped their progress? The authorities are not agreed, partly because the data for an adequate answer are missing. No way has been devised as yet (no Rosetta stone) for deciphering the glyphs that have been recently found. When the Spanish conquerors came, they destroyed as many of the Mayan records of every kind as they could locate.

A possible answer to the question about the Mayan decline is that the different peoples of Mayan descent, as they developed, came into conflict with one another over possession of territory, a tendency still rampant in the world. Thus, the different groups turned their attention to and resources into measures of defense against each other. The realms of art and knowledge suffered because of wars and rumors of wars among the essentially peace-loving Mayas. Another surmise is that the warlike Aztecs to the north became so serious a threat that the peaceful Mayas had to organize their lives and resources for defensive warfare. Still another surmise is that as the Mayan groups grew prosperous, their leaders gave themselves up to flamboyant living. An explanation of an opposite nature is that droughts, year after year, drove the Mayas into desperation and migration.

At any rate, the downward trend of the Mayas was suddenly and unexpectedly catapulted, through no fault of their own, into an abyss of destruction. Their leaders were ruthlessly killed and the common people thrown into disrupting serfdom by the Spanish conquest. In 1523

² Sylvanus Morley, *The Ancient Maya* (Stanford University Press, 1947).

General Pedro de Alvarado, a reportedly heartless Spanish military man, with the permission of Cortez swooped down upon the relatively helpless Mayas in Guatemala. He came with an army including men who rode swift and terrible beasts known as horses. All were armed with guns belching fire and lead that could kill at a distance. Alvarado soon subdued the native peoples, killing their leaders, and in some cases burning them alive. He destroyed their temples, their hieroglyphic records, in fact, anything tangible that the Mayas had developed. Anything Mayan was anathema to him. At Utatlan near Chichicastenango, the Maya-Quiché capital for 520 years (preceding 1524), the leaders were ambushed and killed, all buildings were razed to the ground, and valuable historical records destroyed.

3. *Recuperative Mayan trend.* After the crushing Spanish subjugation, the Mayas were able for centuries to eke out of the soil a mere existence. It was not until recent decades of the Guatemalan Republic that the descendants of the ancient Mayas began to look to a better day. "The powerful ruling clans and nobility," including priests, artists, astronomers, "were almost wiped out by the Spanish conquerors," leaving only the plebeians "to survive the slaughter" and to struggle against nearly 300 years of "unrelenting oppression" by the Spanish.³

It was not until the beginning of this century that road-building and school-building programs were outlined. With the adoption of a new constitution in 1944 in Guatemala, road building has received renewed emphasis, and communication and trade between the cities and Indian villages is being stimulated. New school buildings in the towns and villages are being constructed. With adequate equipment and teaching staffs, progress will be made in establishing a common language (Spanish) throughout the Republic. When the Mayan descendants can all read and write in a common tongue, a new development will be at hand. The twenty or more different Mayan dialects will no longer be communication barriers.

It is too soon to predict how far the Mayan descendants will respond to the new opportunities. It is certain that they will take on new ways very slowly because of the deep-seated role of customs and traditions in their lives. Doubtless, they will respond to new ways that do not involve the overthrow of old ways. While many of them have adopted Christianity, yet a number of these have done so as a kind of superstructure for

³ Vera Kelsey and Lilly De Jough Osborne, *Four Keys to Guatemala* (New York: Funk & Wagnalls Company, 1952), p. 17.

their native religion. On feast days many Indian young women who live near cities are adopting modern forms of dress. The large hoes used by the men in the corn fields in the Guatemalan Highlands are made to a large extent in the United States.

The Indians (comprising about 60 per cent of Guatemala's population) hold tenaciously to their sense of ownership of their plots of land that they plant to corn, beans, wheat, onions, etc. As long as they can have ownership in land and as long as their economy is self-sufficient, they are not likely to seek a change. However, the modern Mayas are slowly experiencing new and recuperative developments.

4. *Transported Spanish trend.* After the conquest of the Mayas by the Spanish, the latter inaugurated a social trend based on culture patterns in Spain. After the destruction, on September 10, 1541,⁴ of the first capital in Ciudad Vieja near the foot of the volcano Agua, by flood and quake, another center of activities was founded in the nearby Panchoy Valley⁵ under the name of Santiago de Caballeros de Guatemala, now known as Antigua. This capital became "the Great Metropolis of Middle America."⁶ The Catholic religion flourished under the auspices of the Cathedral, the thirty churches, convents, and monasteries. The Spanish language became official, and the Palace of the Captains-General in Antigua is recognized today as an outstanding architectural achievement with its two rows of twenty-seven arches each, one row above the other, with solid stone pillars on either side of each arch. The sculpture was chiefly of Spanish design.

Beautiful Spanish paintings adorned the walls of many buildings. Spanish music received high recognition. The University de San Carlos became widely known. By 1750 Antigua had become one of the most highly developed cities in the Western Hemisphere, with its political, religious, architectural, artistic, and social life—all bearing the stamp and spirit of Spanish culture.

5. *Deteriorative Spanish trend.* By the fatal year of 1773 Spanish culture in Guatemala had reached its peak. After giving warning of disaster to come, the earth shook so violently about 4 p.m., July 29, 1773, that the churches and public buildings and the houses of the people came crashing to the ground. Great masses of masonry fell in various

⁴ The capital was established in 1527.

⁵ Overlooked by three volcanoes—Agua, Fuego, and Acatenango.

⁶ Joaquin Munoz, *Guatemala, From Where the Rainbow Takes Its Colors* (Guatemala City: Tipografia Nacional de Guatemala, 1952), p. 71.

directions.⁷ Many of the ruins still remain, comprising "the most impressive monument of Spanish Colonial magnificence that exists in the world."⁸

Although the capital was removed to Guatemala City and a fresh start made, the dominance of Spain lost its vigor. Weakened socially by luxurious living on the part of the few at the top, socially and politically, and by dictatorial governors, Guatemala became subject to the rising tide of revolution in Latin-American countries and on September 15, 1821, achieved the status of an independent republic.

6. *The Guatemalan trend.* Under the Republic, a new Guatemalan trend has been making headway. It shows strong nationalistic characteristics. Out of Indian and Spanish backgrounds and from influences originating in Guatemala itself, as well as in other American countries, a new Guatemalan culture is emerging. The road-building program and the school-building program have already been mentioned. A stabilized currency, a balanced budget, a favorable balance of trade are significant developments.

The Agrarian Reform Law, passed by the National Assembly, June 17, 1952, is being slowly put into effect. By its provisions the Government may expropriate (not confiscate) uncultivated lands of large estates. An uncultivated holding of 221 acres, or a holding of 664 acres, if two thirds are under cultivation, will not be expropriated. The lands being taken over by the Government are being paid for at values that the owners have given to assessors. They are being paid for by agrarian bonds that may run for twenty-five years. These uncultivated lands are to be made available in small acreages to laborers without land. Public and private committees are to help the new tillers in the development of modern farming methods. Ladinos are expected to be helped most.⁹ The Agrarian Reform Law is designed to meet the needs of landless and urban laborers who have not succeeded in making satisfactory occupational adjustments.

⁷ Beautiful La Merced church, completed only sixteen years previously, withstood the shocks of July 29, but succumbed to shocks in December 1773. It has been largely restored. On the other hand, La Recolection with walls several feet thick was left with only one lone arch standing, defying time and remaining today "as a magnificent frame for the picture of destruction" all around it. The Cathedral with its five naves and eighteen chapels stands today "a gigantic ghost of mortar and brick," broken arches and domes. (Munoz, *op. cit.*, p. 88)

⁸ Munoz, *op. cit.*, p. 83.

⁹ The people of Guatemala are often spoken of as "whites," "ladinos," and Indians. The ladino is a person of mixed Indian and "white" descent or an Indian who has left his people to work on the large *fincas* and plantations or in the cities. The "whites" are persons chiefly of Spanish descent and include some persons of Italian or French descent. In addition, in Guatemala there are a considerable number of business people from the United States and other countries.

The Guatemalan trend of the present century involves "three dramatically different human cultures"—the Mayan, the Spanish, and a "streamlined modern life" of hotels, railways, highways and airports, radios, mechanized plantations, museums and schools, "progressive thinking and a cosmopolitan outlook with an old-time dignity and courtesy."¹⁰ "Living folkways" of the past are being combined and, wherever feasible, integrated with new inventions. The integration of Indian, Spanish, and modern culture patterns in Guatemala is bound to be affected in various ways by world relations,¹¹ as well as by the give and take of powerful internal forces. Fourteen years ago an observer from the United States described Guatemala as "one of the most interesting of the American regions in which to watch experiments in introducing democratic procedures among a people who as a whole heretofore have shown only a very secondary interest in public affairs."¹² No attempt has been made here to predict the directions that Guatemala's "multifaceted culture" will take or to assess present developments.

¹⁰ Aguirre, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

¹¹ It may be noted that 87 per cent of all of Guatemala's exports (chiefly coffee and bananas) go to the United States, and that Guatemala buys two thirds of all her imports from the United States (1951).

¹² Chester Lloyd Jones, *Guatemala, Past and Present* (Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota Press, 1940), p. viii.

SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIAL RESEARCH ASSOCIATES

More than a dozen years ago an Endowment Fund for the Journal of *Sociology and Social Research* was inaugurated. The Fund has been augmented from time to time by small gifts and today amounts to \$7,123.43. It is administered through the Business Office of the University of Southern California, and all the income from it is used to offset the more than doubled costs of publication of *Sociology and Social Research* that have occurred in the last few years.

To increase the current Fund to \$15,000, friends of the Journal are being given the opportunity to make such contributions as they may wish, either on an annual basis for three years or as a single gift, and will be designated as Sociology and Social Research Associates. Their names will be published in *Sociology and Social Research*.

The promotion of the Associates plan is supported by the Department of Sociology, the Editorial Staff of the Journal, and by the chapter of the honor society, Alpha Kappa Delta, of the University of Southern California. The financial support given the Journal will aid in its program of publishing scholarly and timely articles of a sociological nature.

ABBOTT P. HERMAN: 1896-1954

Dr. Abbott P. Herman, Professor of Sociology at the University of Redlands since 1945, died January 18, 1954. He had taught at Hillsdale College, Michigan, for thirteen years prior to his work at Redlands.

For some fifteen years Abbott Herman had fought arthritis with an unbeatable spirit. The forces of illness proved too strong, however, when pneumonia struck quickly and finally.

Abbott Herman received his first college degree in Civil Engineering from Cornell University in 1920. In 1924 he received the B.D. degree from McCormick Seminary. His M.A. was completed at the University of Illinois in 1928, and he was granted the Ph.D. degree at the University of Chicago in 1930. Dr. Herman was president of the Michigan Sociological Society 1938-39 and was an active member of the American Sociological Society, the Pacific Sociological Society, and the American Association of University Professors.

In spite of his illness, he somehow found the energy to write a number of articles for the sociological journals. Among these were "An Answer

to Criticism of the Lag Hypothesis," *American Journal of Sociology*, 1937; "Values of Individualism," *Sociology and Social Research*, 1948; and "The Disproportionate Emphasis on Description in the Consideration of Social Problems," *Social Problems*, 1954. His major work, *An Approach to Social Problems*, published by Ginn and Company in 1949, presented the theory that "social problems arise, and existing problems are aggravated, when a society creates or accepts instruments of change, yet fails to understand, anticipate, or deal with the consequences of such action."

As a teacher, Abbott Herman had a tremendous enthusiasm for his field and work. In spite of the progressively greater toll arthritis was taking, he showed no diminution of interest or effort. Three years ago, when he was first confined to his home, he immediately provided bus service for his students to and from his home so that his classes might continue. When he recognized that his mobility would be permanently impaired, he moved to a home close by the campus, converted the garage into a modern classroom, and continued to teach from a wheel chair. His life and work as a teacher will continue as a source of inspiration to his students and associates.

WILLIAM J. KLAUSNER
University of Redlands

FORREST L. WELLER, 1904-1953

The death of Forrest L. Weller, chairman of the Department of Sociology of the University of South Dakota, occurred on last Thanksgiving Eve. A Ph.D. candidate in Sociology at the University of Chicago, he wrote his doctoral dissertation on the Mennonites. In recent years he specialized in the study of the family and is author of a book dealing with this subject, which is scheduled to be published this spring.

Dr. Forrest L. Weller was born at Continental, Ohio, May 8, 1904. He attended Manchester College and received his A.B. degree in 1925. In 1927 he received his M.A. from the University of Chicago and in 1945 his Ph.D. from the same university. He taught history and sociology at Mount Morris College and at Elizabethtown College. In 1945 he came to South Dakota State College and in 1946 was made professor and Head of the Department of Sociology at the University of South Dakota. He was in *Who's Who in America*, *Who Knows What and Why*, and *Who's Who in American Education*.

WESLEY R. HURT
University of South Dakota

PACIFIC SOCIOLOGICAL NOTES

University of California

Berkeley. Herbert Blumer presented a series of lectures dealing with industrial sociology at the University College of the West Indies, Jamaica, February 1-13. Tamotsu Shibutani will be on semisabbatical leave in the spring semester of the 1954-55 academic year to carry on his research studies in ethnic relations. Wolfram Eberhard has been nominated as a member of the editorial board of the Swiss Far Eastern Journal, *Sinologica*.

Davis. Edwin Lemert is chairman of the Department of Economics, Geography, and Sociology. Approximately 200 students are enrolled in the College of Letters and Science, 40 of whom are registered for sociology courses.

Los Angeles. Forrest E. LaViolette, chairman and professor of sociology at Tulane University, is visiting professor during the spring semester, 1954. He is handling courses and seminars in the area of race and ethnic relations while Professor Leonard Broom is in the Hawaiian Islands studying ethnic relations.

Riverside. The new liberal arts college opened in February with a registration of 127 students. Charles Woodhouse of Berkeley was the first appointee in sociology. Frank F. Lee of Northwestern University will join the Department of Sociology in the fall. R. A. Nisbet is the dean of the new liberal arts college and serves as chairman of the Sociology Department.

University of Idaho. Harry C. Harmsworth is making a state-wide survey of alcohol and narcotics in Idaho. John E. Tsouderos is teaching Harmsworth's courses. Erdwin H. Pfuhl is assisting Harmsworth in the research project as a fellow.

Lewis and Clark College. Dr. William C. Smith is visiting professor of sociology.

University of New Mexico. Helen Ellis, director of the social work curriculum, is on sabbatical leave, doing graduate work in Smith College. Ezra W. Geddes served as chairman of the social-psychology section at the annual meeting of the Southwestern Social Science Association at Dallas, Texas, in April. Paul Walter, Jr., department chairman, recently addressed the faculty of the University of Colorado Medical School in Denver on "Dynamics of Population Growth." He will assist in the Human Relations Workshop at Southern Methodist University in June.

University of Redlands. Charles W. Hobart, A.M., University of Southern California, 1951, has been appointed to the position of instructor in sociology. Hobart is completing his doctorate at Indiana University.

University of Southern California. The Macmillan Company published the fourth edition of Emory S. Bogardus' *Sociology* in March. Charles Scribner's Sons published John E. Nordskog's *Contemporary Social Reform Movements* in April. Edward C. McDonagh has been granted a sabbatical leave for the fall semester to study the "Wetbacks" in Southern California.

SOCIAL PROBLEMS AND WELFARE

SURVEY OF AFRICAN MARRIAGE AND FAMILY LIFE. By Arthur Phillips et al. London, England: Oxford University Press, 1953, pp. xli +462.

This book consists of an introductory essay by Arthur Phillips and three long monographs: *African Marriage and Social Change* by L. P. Mair, *Marriage Laws in Africa* by Arthur Phillips, and *Christian Marriage in African Society* by the Rev. Lunden Harries. These three monographs represent an initial research report on the legal and administrative, anthropological, and missionary aspects of a survey financed by the Carnegie Corporation of New York and the British Colonial Social Science Research Council. The research design focused on a factual presentation of indigenous family organization in Africa, on changes appearing in that organization due to the impact of Western society, and on a description of the ways that administrative and missionary bodies are handling problems incident to changes in social processes and social institutions.

This book makes two chief contributions to the social scientist. The first is a series of notable analyses of social attitudes and institutions undergoing change. The impact of colonial law on native custom, the innovations in institutions that resulted from contact with the Western industrial culture, and accommodations of native social organization and Western theological thought to each other are carefully, if sometimes laboriously, presented.

The second contribution is a detailed and valuable study of many changing aspects of African marriage such as polygamy, the cattle payment, adultery, premarital relationships, and husband-and-wife status. Mair found his material so diverse that he presents his findings for four areas of Africa instead of for Africa as a whole.

J.A.P.

RECREATION IN THE AMERICAN COMMUNITY. By Howard G. Danford. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1953, pp. x+464.

Although the author is a professor of physical education, this text is comprehensive in the various aspects modern recreation is known to encompass. Administration, community organization, and sociological factors (such as community mores and folkways involved in planning recreation) are part and parcel of the author's "principles of operation."

There are many dangers and pitfalls encountered by recreation in America today, but, the author believes, some of these dangerous conditions are fundamentally problems of leisure, and all are problems to whose solution recreation can make an important contribution. It is the author's conclusion that "recreation leaders as a group must realize much more clearly than ever before the higher values attainable through recreation and begin immediately to seek these values intelligently and aggressively."

HANS A. ILLING

PATTERNS OF INDUSTRIAL BUREAUCRACY. By Alvin W. Gouldner. Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1954, pp. 282.

This book is a report of a study made of the administration of a plant owned and operated by the General Gypsum Company. The plant includes a subsurface mine and a surface factory. The objective of this research was to clarify some of the social processes of bureaucratization, to identify crucial variables, and to formulate hypotheses concerning their interconnections.

The author discusses three patterns of bureaucracy—mock, representative, and punishment-centered. His findings concerning bureaucracy can be summarized as follows: (1) Bureaucratic measures are a response to a breakdown in social relations, (2) efforts are made to install and enforce bureaucratic rules when they are judged to be "capable of achieving desired results" and are "morally appropriate," (3) the degree to which bureaucratic efforts are successful depends on the extent to which the subjects do not resist these efforts, (4) bureaucratic rules survive because they reduce tensions between people in varying status and of the organization as a whole, (5) internal tensions and complaints about "red tape" are more often associated with punishment-centered bureaucracy than with representative or mock bureaucracy.

Further studies in other plants are needed to clarify the nature of the social processes as distinguished from procedures of bureaucracy and to define further the relation of bureaucracy to democracy.

WOODROW W. SCOTT

POPULATION PROBLEMS: A CULTURAL INTERPRETATION. By Paul H. Landis. Second edition prepared by Paul K. Hatt. New York: American Book Company, 1954, pp. xiv--554.

This is a revision by Paul Hatt of a book published by Paul Landis in 1943. The main differences between the two editions are as follows: (1) The arrangement of the chapters has been changed, (2) tables and charts have been brought up to date and new information has been added, (3) the demographic data on foreign countries have been brought together in a new chapter on the "World Demographic Position of the United States," and (4) there is a technical appendix on "Essential Statistical Concepts and Methods in Demography," written by Dr. Leo Silberman. Demographers will welcome the addition of this appendix, especially since it is clearly and simply written and contains most of the important statistical concepts.

As in the previous edition, most of the material and discussion presented pertains to the United States. Teachers who like this orientation will find the book interesting and readable. G.S.

SO THIS IS COLLEGE. By Paul H. Landis. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1954, pp. x+205.

This book is written especially for young people and concerns their particular problems. Professor Landis brings a new approach to the subject of their adjustment by focusing upon the numerous problems common to the majority of college students. From over a thousand autobiographical sketches collected from introductory sociology students, the author has determined the areas of difficulty and the adjustments made to them. Each of the problems is presented and discussed in a warm and interesting fashion under such imaginative chapter headings as "Conflicts, Glands, and Guilt" and "The Destiny within Me." Excerpts from the autobiographies are used freely throughout the text of the volume, and these words of students serve to emphasize the major theme of the book—that these problems are not unique nor abnormal but have been shared by many others.

This volume may be of interest to sociologists as an aid to counseling the student. It will find its greatest use, however, as a sympathetic guide to young people entering a highly competitive and social college environment.

MARCIA ECK LASSWELL
George Pepperdine College

THE WHOLE MAN GOES TO WORK. By Henry L. Nunn. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1953, pp. vii+214.

Not only does this book serve as an autobiography for Henry L. Nunn, but it also conveys the Nunn principles for managing a successful modern business enterprise. For at least three decades the Nunn-Bush Shoe Company has been discussed and written about by those who were interested in seeking an actual working model for good industrial relations. Something of his long-time attitude toward employees may be found in his statement about Christmas gifts to them: ". . . I always look back to those first years, when on the last day of work before closing down for the holidays, I would personally go to each department, shut off the power, gather the workers together, and hand out the gifts in Santa Claus style. The money involved was not much, but there was a personal touch which money cannot replace." Among Nunn's contributions may be cited the encouragement of unionism and union management cooperation, the initiation of a 52-pay-checks-a-year plan, and the installation of workers on the Nunn-Bush Board of Directors in 1936. What is essential for the staving-off of communism and the salvation of the capitalistic system is that both management and labor "stop thinking of labor as a commodity and start thinking of it as an associate." As a true associate of capital, Nunn believes that labor would then share in production rights, insuring new self-respect and dignity befitting the democratic concept of the inherent rights of man. M.J.V.

THE SOCIAL WELFARE FORUM, 1954. Official Proceedings, 80th Annual Meeting, National Conference of Social Work, Cleveland, Ohio, May 31-June 5, 1953. New York: Columbia University Press, 1953, pp. xxvii+365.

Among the many papers presented annually at the Conference, only a selected few, as a rule, find their place in this Forum. The editors intentionally include presentations from a variety of disciplines other than social work. Noteworthy for sociologists are the papers "Strengthening Family Life—The Bulwark of Our Society" by Kimball Young and "The Significance of Caste and Class in a Democracy" by W. Lloyd Warner. Other contributions of general interest are "The World Is the Community" by Chester Bowles and Donald S. Howard's "Civil Liberties and Social Responsibilities in Social Work."

HANS A. ILLING

DIARY OF A SELF-MADE CONVICT. By Alfred Hassler, with a foreword by Harry Elmer Barnes. Chicago: Henry Regnery Company, 1954, pp. x+182.

Alfred Hassler, a conscientious objector to military service, was convicted of violation of the Selective Service Act in June 1944 and sentenced to three years in prison. Of this sentence, he served about a month in the Federal Detention Headquarters in New York City, about eight months in the federal penitentiary in Lewisburg, Pennsylvania, and the remainder on a "special service" parole in a New York hospital. This book tells the story of his confinement in the penal institutions.

The author is quite articulate and, considering the circumstances, extremely objective. No part of the book is devoted to pleading the cause of conscientious objectors. The work is not a polemic produced with a vengeance, but a simple exposition of prison life as seen through the eyes of a convict. Although Hassler's document invites sympathy with prison inmates, it is clear that his goal is to gain a mature understanding of the effects of penal institutions on those incarcerated.

THOMAS ELY LASSWELL
George Pepperdine College

MID-CENTURY CRIME IN OUR CULTURE. By Austin L. Porterfield and Robert H. Talbert. Fort Worth, Texas: Leo Potishman Foundation, pp. xi+113.

The authors have gathered together considerable material which tends to support their hypotheses: (1) Patterns of crime are sociocultural products; (2) they develop out of conflict situations which vary with social structure and social worlds; (3) "the greater the number of lines of conflict, the greater the amount of crime"; (4) in-groups are "bound together by cultural ties" which may compel certain responses to out-groups and outgroup members which may include "patterns permissive of aggressive responses"; (5) Southern cities have more conflict groups and more "aggressive cultural definitions" than non-Southern cities; (6) therefore, the Southern cities have more crimes.

An interesting analysis of crime in our mid-century culture is presented in this book. The authors present a brief in behalf of "delinquents and their parents versus the tradition of blame and punishment." Possible cultural factors associated with differential crime rates are elaborated, but personality roles and responsibility are not emphasized.

WOODROW W. SCOTT

THE SOCIOLOGY OF CHILD DEVELOPMENT. By James H. S. Bossard.
New York: Harper & Brothers, 1954, pp. xxx+788.

This revision of a well-known textbook, published originally in 1948, presents a more distinctively sociological approach to the subject of child development than other books in the field. Various studies which have appeared on this subject during the past few years have been utilized to bring the material up to date, and two new chapters have been added—one on parents' occupation and another on family ritual—as they affect child development. After the introductory chapters, in which the sociological approach (as opposed to the physical, psychological, or educational) is explained, the book has sections on "the child and his family setting," "facets of family life," "class and status differentials," "some problem families," "child development and non-family groups," and "the changing status of childhood." The book is well adapted for use in undergraduate classes. The material is organized and presented clearly, with extensive references to sources of information and an extended bibliography on child development and family life. M.H.N.

DRINKING IN COLLEGE. By Robert Strauss and Selden D. Bacon, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1953, pp. vi+221.

The results of a survey on the drinking behavior of college students are reported and interpreted in this book. The survey was conducted in 27 colleges, located all over the United States, during the period 1949-51. Questionnaires were administered to 16,300 students mostly during their regular class hours. The questions asked made it possible to identify types of drinking behavior by sex, class status, income of parents, drinking behavior of parents, religion, and nationality. Attitudes toward drinking were also analyzed.

Of all the students included in the survey about one fourth were total abstainers and three fourths were nonabstainers. There are, of course, wide variations around this average. The results clearly show the influence of the family and of friends on the drinking behavior of the sample studied.

From what the authors have to say about their sampling procedure, it appears that some form of "representative" sampling was used to select the college. The students were apparently selected by quota sampling.

We are warned that the sample "does not necessarily represent all segments of American College Youth," since Mormons and Jews were over-represented. On the other hand, it is assured that the figures given apply to the total student population of the college selected. If quota sampling was used, this may be an erroneous assumption.

The data given are often difficult to interpret because there is no specific information on the drinking behavior of a comparable group of noncollege persons. It is unfortunate that the author was not able to study a sample of noncollege young adults. On the whole, however, the results of the survey are interesting, significant, and adeptly interpreted.

G.S.

THE TELEGRAPHERS: THEIR CRAFT AND THEIR UNIONS. By Vidkunn Ulriksson. Washington, D.C.: Public Affairs Press, 1953, pp. v+218.

A union telegrapher himself, the author of this engaging account: not only of the development of the professional spirit among his fellow craftsmen but also of unionism in the commercial telegraph industry, brings to it an authoritative insight which succeeds in making his story a historical document of worth in the field of industrial relations. Some not-so-well-known facts revealed during the course of the narrative are the following: (1) The first private telegraph line was erected between New York and Philadelphia in 1845, and sometimes the wire was appropriated for private use by those whose properties were close to the lines; (2) by 1851, the New York, Albany, and Buffalo Telegraph Company was declaring 10 per cent dividends; (3) the gradual development of Western Union, chartered in 1856, into a giant monopoly by 1883 was followed by the absorption of over 535 district telegraph companies; (4) the first attempts at union organization began in 1863, but it was 1945 before final success was attained. Ruthless attempts were employed by the various companies to eliminate the threats of unionism, and the "iron clad contract" was in use long before the "yellow dog" type. Professional attitudes of the telegraphers played a part in the formation of negative attitudes toward unionism, and the number of women in the industry did the union cause no good. The rehearsal of the varied devices used by the companies to combat unionism discloses the employment of almost every tactic that has ever been tried in the arena of conflict between employer and employee. The book closes with an excellent chapter on the telegraph fraternity, showing neatly something of the role behavior of those who are "Knights of the Key."

M.J.V.

INDUSTRIALISM AND THE POPES. By Mary Lois Ebert and Gerald J. Schnepf. New York: P. J. Kenedy & Sons, 1953, pp. xx+245.

This book of research is a source book of papal texts on the principles basic to our industrial, social, and economic problems. For some time now, a group of American Catholic sociologists has been conducting a study, the purpose of which is to evolve a comprehensive plan of co-operation between labor, management, and the public. Their plan, known as "The Industry Council Plan," is an effort toward such a socio-economic reform in our contemporary society. Though still in the process of development, this Plan is a deliberate effort to translate into a technique the social directives of the popes, and the function of this book is to synthesize and organize all papal pronouncements of the more recent popes, beginning with Leo XII and including the present pontiff, which bear on this social problem. The book includes all papal texts which refer directly, or indirectly, to Industry Councils as well as to other social problems, and will serve as a source book as well as a book of ready reference for those who are interested in the Plan.

In gathering together these papal texts the authors, both of whom are active in the field of social thought, have used only a minimum of instructive commentary. The work is meticulously documented and is preceded by a chapter which explains the Industry Council Plan itself. The authors have edited their research, which also includes a comprehensive and extensive bibliography, so that it is technically useful to both the social scientist and the industrial leader.

MARGARET CRONIN

TOWARD A DEMOCRATIC WORK PROCESS. The Hormel-Packinghouse Workers' Experiment. By Fred H. Blum. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1953, pp. xv+229.

The author of this book shows how the management of the George A. Hormel & Company and Local 9 of the United Packinghouse Workers of America, CIO, have worked out a new concept of industrial organization. An increase in democracy has been given the worker in the Hormel plant following the security afforded him by a guaranteed annual wage. Definite steps and time limits in the processing of grievances, determination by the employees of job assignments, transfers, and speed of work give the Hormel worker an enlarged voice in the work process. These workers share with management and stockholders in the earning and profits of the business. They also participate in business improvement projects. This development in worker-management relationships gives more democracy to the worker.

WOODROW W. SCOTT

UP YOUR ALLEY. A MAIL SURVEY OF PINBOYS. By Lazelle D. Alway. New York: National Child Labor Committee, No. 410, 1953, pp. 31.

This pamphlet contains statistics which are simple, direct, and rounded out with comments that emphasize their social significance to John and Jane Doe, whose favorite leisure-time activity is bowling but who see in the pinboy no more than a human machine. Long, late hours of work, hazards to limb, the association with older pinboys who are "drifters, bums, and down-and-outers," the violation of child labor laws (if there are any) by employers—such is the grim picture here brought home to the decent bowler. The survey aims powerful punches against state lobbies and their meretricious arguments and the proprietors who delude the public into thinking a bowler and a pinsetter are one and the same thing, assuming that the public "don't know one end of the alley from the other!"

HANS A. ILLING

RURAL SOCIAL SYSTEMS AND ADULT EDUCATION. A Committee Report by Charles P. Loomis, Chairman, J. Allan Beegle, Editor, and twelve collaborators. East Lansing, Michigan: The Michigan State College Press, 1953, pp. xiv+392.

Resulting from a study sponsored by The Association of Land Grant Colleges and Universities and The Fund for Adult Education Established by The Ford Foundation, this report covers a wide range of social systems in relation to adult education. Adult education, as it is carried on in families, informal groups, public schools, cooperative extension service of the United States, general farmers' organizations and co-operatives, service and professional groups, social agencies within the Department of Agriculture, public libraries, rural churches, colleges and universities, local governmental organizations, international exchange of persons programs, and mass communication media, is presented in considerable detail. A vast amount of concrete data was assembled and is presented in summary form, with bibliographies giving the major sources of information. The Cooperative Extension Service of the United States, with its 12,000 professional workers, is the largest adult education program of its kind in the world. Farmers' organizations have greatly increased the scope of their educational activities during recent decades, as have government agencies. Likewise, libraries, schools, churches, and other agencies have expanded their programs of rural adult education. These various organizations now use media of mass communication

(radio, television, movies, newspapers, magazines, and other printed material) as well as various program "forms," such as public meetings, conferences, workshops, demonstrations, institutes, and tours.

This is the first time in the social sciences that the linkages of these systems and the manner in which information is funneled through them to reach the individual have been described. While the book concentrates on adult education in rural America, the reader can get an encouraging picture of what is going on in the entire field of adult education by perusing the variety of programs available for one segment of the adult population.

M.H.N.

PEOPLES AND CULTURE

UNDERSTANDING THE JAPANESE MIND. By James Clark Moloney.
New York: The Philosophical Library, Inc., 1954, pp. xviii+252.

This book is a creditable attempt to understand the Japanese mind from the viewpoint of a psychoanalyst. Doctor Moloney is convinced that the Japanese people are predictable when one fully understands the restrictions which have been placed upon their behavior by the traditions of their culture. He endeavors to support his thesis by quoting freely from the disciplines of anthropology, history, sociology, and religion.

The traditions of Japanese culture which the author calls to the reader's attention are (1) the prescribed status to which the Japanese individual is born, (2) the importance of the household, (3) the parent-child role and the employer-employee relationship, (4) one's obligation toward the family and society, and (5) the concept of saving face. The author reaches the conclusion that Japanese authoritarianism and conformity are incompatible with the liberty and individualism of the West.

I. ROGER YOSHINO

IN SARA'S TENT. By Walter Starkie. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc., 1953, pp. ix+339.

As a result of being able to play a fiddle and by virtue of his knowledge of gypsy music, the author has been able to live with gypsies, and hence in his book he has presented new insights concerning gypsy myths, gypsy language, gypsy music. Excellent photographs and an eight-page glossary of gypsy words enhance the value of this interpretation of the gypsy people.

THE SOUTH AFRICAN WAY OF LIFE. Values and Ideals of a Multi-racial Society. Edited by G. H. Galpin. New York: Columbia University Press, 1953, pp. ix+20.

Six important chapters deal with the six sections of the Union of South Africa, namely, Afrikaans-speaking, English-speaking, Jewish, Bantu, the Coloured, and the Indian. Each chapter is written by a member of the culture described. Three chapters review education, political life, and economic factors in South Africa.

No matter how South Africa is viewed—culturally, politically, religiously—there seem to be several ways of life, and in some particulars the social distance is great and the strife determined and bitter. Not only are the Afrikaans-speaking and the English-speaking sections out of harmony with each other, but social changes are going on within each of the six sections of the population. For example, the Afrikaans-speaking section was at one time nearly all rural, but today as a result of intra-migration a definite proportion of the people hold urbanized viewpoints.

The conflict underlying the whole social situation in South Africa is between some form of integration and *apartheid*. The writers of this book do not attempt to solve this problem, but in the main have done well in presenting data for an understanding of the conflicting viewpoints.

E.S.B.

1952 NEGRO YEAR BOOK. A Review of Events Affecting Negro Life. Edited by Jessie P. Guzman. New York: W. H. Wise & Co., Inc., 1952, pp. xxii+424.

This Year Book, eleventh in the series that was begun in 1912, presents data chiefly for the period 1947-51 regarding Negroes in the United States (including a chapter on Negroes in non-self-directing territories in the world). Each of eighteen authorities contributes a chapter to the twenty-seven chapters that deal with as many different aspects of Negro life. The editorial staff prepared the remaining chapters. The Year Book presents a surprising array of achievements in a wide range of fields. A number of photographs increase the reader's interest.

A.R.R.

THE AUSTRALIAN WAY OF LIFE. Edited by George Caiger. New York: Columbia University Press, 1953, pp. xvi+158.

Seven Australian contributors discuss the family, education, political institutions and aspirations, economic institutions and aspirations, religious institutions and aspirations in Australia, and the relation of Aus-

tralians to the world, respectively. Each section is well presented, and together they constitute introductions to several Australian ways of life. It is still too soon to state just how the Australian way of life is to be distinguished from all other national ways of life, but this book gives a considerable wealth of data which throw light on what Australians are thinking and doing.

E.S.B.

TOWARD UNDERSTANDING GERMANY. By Robert H. Lowie. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1954, pp. ix+396.

This approach to the understanding of Germany is partly social psychological, partly ethnological, and partly historical. Considerable emphasis is given to the stratification of German society (nobility, upper middle class, petty bourgeois, workers, peasants) and to the German family, both rural and urban. An extensive chapter deals with "Germans and Jews." A substantial bibliography is included in this carefully documented work.

POLITICAL SYSTEMS OF HIGHLAND BURMA. A Study of Kachin Social Structure. By E. R. Leach. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1954, pp. xii+324.

This book is concerned with the Kachin and Shan population of Northeast Burma. The Shans occupy the river valleys, where they cultivate rice in irrigated fields; they are a relatively sophisticated people with a culture somewhat resembling that of the Burmese. The Kachins, on the other hand, occupy the adjoining hills, where they cultivate rice mainly by the slash-and-burn techniques.

The central theme of this book is that inconsistencies in the logic of ritual expression are always necessary for the proper functioning of any social system. It is important to study these inconsistencies in order to understand the social system.

The author defines myth "as the counterpart of ritual," and ritual "as a dramatization of the myth." "Myth is the sanction or charter for the rite." Together, myth and ritual are a language of signs which constitute not "a chain of harmony" but "a language of argument." On the basis of this study of the Kachins and the Shans, the author concludes that a particular social structure can assume a variety of cultural interpretations and that different social structures can be represented by the same set of cultural symbols.

WOODROW W. SCOTT

SOCIAL THEORY AND RESEARCH

CHARACTER AND SOCIAL STRUCTURE. By Hans Gerth and C. Wright Mills. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1953, pp. xxi+490.

The authors stress that this work is so much a "shared endeavor" that the listing of their names is to be interpreted as purely alphabetical. The effort is also a cooperative one in the broader sense in that it seeks to unify data from sociology, social psychology, and history in an "effort to understand the types of human beings that have risen in varying kinds of social structure." As the focus is mainly upon advanced historic and contemporary societies, relatively little attention is given to primitive groups. Hence, the study is less closely related to current culture-personality studies than to the older tradition of "sociology of history." Yet, likewise, it cannot be easily pigeonholed in the latter category. As indicated by its subtitle, *The Psychology of Social Institutions*, it aims to add an institutional viewpoint to the already hybrid discipline of "social psychology."

The work is arranged in four parts: (1) an introductory statement of "perspectives" and "major components of our working models of character and of social structure"; (2) an analysis of the elements of "character structure"; (3) a relating of these to "social structure" through institutions, social controls, and systems of stratification; and (4) a treatment of social-historical change culminating in a "general consideration of the world trends that now seem most importantly to shape the types of character that prevail in modern social structure."

The main conceptual tools include four key-terms applying to individual behavior—organism, psychic structure, person, and of course "character structure," all nicely differentiated and then neatly integrated. The breadth of the treatment of "social structures" entails the use of numerous concepts of considerable importance, and any attempt to list and exemplify all of these would beggar the richness of the presentation in the text. However, the keystones are found in the analysis of institutional "orders" and "spheres." An institutional order consists of "all those institutions within a social structure which have similar consequences and ends or which serve similar objective functions." These include, chiefly, the political, economic, military, kinship, and religious orders. As this scheme of institutional orders fails to account for all social experience, it is supplemented by a consideration of certain aspects,

arbitrarily labeled "spheres," which characterize all of the orders. The most important spheres are those of technology, symbols, status, and education. Each of these major concepts is treated in a separate chapter or section, and each is skillfully integrated with the others in the treatment of concrete historical and contemporary situations. The aim is not a complete "system" but rather a "working model" of social structure.

Clearly, such a wide-ranging study defies brief summary. Even if the authors were not known as translators of Weber, their presentation could not help reminding one of Weber's broad interests and keen insights. What has passed for "Weberian" analysis in this country has seemed to many a static and structural approach, but Gerth and Mills are truer to Weber's genuinely dynamic approach, his use of historical and comparative materials, and his focus on social change. Each of their units of "social structure" thus becomes a unit of change as well. Each of them undergoes "quantitative as well as qualitative, microscopic as well as macroscopic, change." One might wish the authors were more critical of some of Weber's usages. For one example, they follow him in a too narrow concept of law and hence fail to accord law-norms as prominent a place in their theory of social control as abundant research would appear to warrant. (Weber's definition would exclude, for instance, the highly developed form of jurisprudence surveyed by Llewellyn and Hoebel in their excellent study of *The Cheyenne Way*.)

JOSEPH B. FORD

Los Angeles State College

THE COLUMBIA-VIKING DESK ENCYCLOPEDIA. Compiled and edited by the staff of the Columbia Encyclopedia, William Bridgewater, Editor-in-Chief. New York: The Viking Press, 1953, pp. viii+1092.

This handy desk-size encyclopedia is an abridgement of the well and favorably known Columbia Encyclopedia, revised edition, which appeared in 1950. Much of the material in the larger volume has been rewritten in order that a volume one third the physical size of the larger tome might suffice. Many of the data have been brought up to April 1, 1953. A total of 31,000 different subjects are included within a compass of 1,250,000 words. In the parent volume (1950 edition) there were 105,000 entries and 6,000,000 words.

Considering all the difficulties involved, the editors and compilers of this desk-size encyclopedia have done a remarkably fine piece of work. Of necessity, long articles of the type usually included in an encyclopedia

on general subjects, such as American literature or sociology, are omitted or treated very briefly. Eight maps, twenty full-page illustrations, six tables, and nineteen lists of reference materials add to the usefulness of the book. In order to conserve space, special skill is shown in utilizing abbreviations throughout the text. Bias has been avoided. The volume achieves the goal of the editors in their aim "to give as much finger-tip knowledge as can be offered in brief scope."

E.S.B.

SEXUAL BEHAVIOR IN THE HUMAN FEMALE. By Alfred C. Kinsey, Wardell B. Pomeroy, Clyde E. Martin, and Paul H. Gebhard. Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders Company, 1953, pp. 842.

This long-awaited-for book by Kinsey and his associates has been subjected to warm praise by those who are not inclined to be critical of the methods used in the research, to fiery criticism by those whose moral sensibilities are shocked by the frankness with which all aspects of sex are treated, and to critical skepticism by those academicians who take a careful look at the methodology of the study. The latter are aware that Kinsey and his associates stress that their findings apply to the sample involved. The academicians feel that the sample is far from representative in that 92 per cent were in high school, college, or postgraduate school; 90 per cent were from urban areas; 58 per cent were single; and 60 individuals were 2 to 5 years of age. Moreover, although the reader is informed that the sample consists of 5,940 white nonprison females, and thus excludes the 934 nonwhite and the 945 prisoners, the latter two groups "considerably extended our thinking and provided bases for some of the more general statements. The sample is not representative and is composed of volunteers." The title possibly should have been "Sexual Behavior of Selected Human Females."

Certain findings of the study are of particular interest. During the past generation it seems that women's sex behavior has altered more than that of the male. Of those cases investigated the incidence of premarital intercourse has risen with women born after 1900, being twice as frequent as for those born during the 1890's. Moreover, 69 per cent of the still unmarried females in the sample stated that they did not regret this kind of experience. Says the report: "It is obvious that neither younger girls nor older women discuss their sexual experiences in the open way that males do."

Heterosexual petting, which engages the largest number of females before marriage and is one of six types of sexual activity described in the

report, not only provides most females with their first real understanding of heterosexual experience but may teach women to respond emotionally well to a sexual partner and may even contribute to the effectiveness of other nonsexual relationships. The range of variation in sex matters, according to this sample, far exceeds that of the male, a statement that may cause surprise. Homosexual relationships are much less frequent among females and are indulged in mainly by the unmarried and generally with little change in partners.

The present volume has some good exploratory chapters on the psychological factors in sexual response, the neural mechanisms of sexual response, and the hormonal factors that may be involved, in all of which appear some of the results of late research findings on those topics.

In view of the unrepresentative character of the sample on which the above and other findings are based, the conclusions of this study should be taken as hypotheses for future research.

M.J.V. AND H.J.L.

POLITICS, ECONOMICS, AND WELFARE. *Planning and Politico-Economic Systems Resolved into Basic Social Processes.* By Robert A. Dahl and Charles E. Lindblom. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1953, pp. xxvi+557.

Economic life in the world of today constitutes a political economy, and the authors have sought to incorporate selected aspects of politics and economics into a single consistent body of theory. For practical purposes it is essential to consider goals that may be attained through the use of social mechanisms, among which are political-economic processes emphasized in this study. The nature of the analysis quite logically includes the planning process and its techniques, pointing toward social welfare.

There has been a tendency for some time to differentiate economic and political theories and disciplines, but the growing emphasis on political and governmental controls and planning has forced a closer association between economic and political institutions which have been featured in attempts to explain or solve contemporary problems. The economic, political, and other factors should be understood as working together, as reciprocally related and interacting. This book is basically a study of specialized social processes.

Some of the processes are for rational calculation, some are for control, and still others for economizing. The four central sociopolitical mechanisms stress the price system, hierarchy, polyarchy, and bargaining—all of them explored in terms of control of and by leaders.

Politico-economic techniques are analyzed in somewhat the same manner with reference to price system, hierarchy, polyarchy, and bargaining technique.

Whether or not one agrees fully with the interpretation of the authors, or their selection of factors for analysis, the study is important for its presentation of political economy blending the functional aspects of both government and the national economy.

J.E.N.

THE TEACHING OF THE SOCIAL SCIENCES IN THE UNITED KINGDOM. Paris: UNESCO, 1953, pp. 140.

The data in this document are based on the teaching of the social sciences in twenty-three British universities. The space received by the discussion in this booklet of each of the social sciences is as follows: legal education, 31 pages; teaching of political science, 29 pages; the teaching of economics, 23 pages; teaching of sociology, social anthropology, and social psychology, 18 pages; teaching of international relations, 8 pages.

A.R.R.

SOCIOLOGY AND PHILOSOPHY. By Emile Durkheim. Translated by D. F. Peacock. Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1953, pp. xii+97.

A splendid service to social theory is rendered by the publication of these four papers by Durkheim. In the Introduction, J. G. Peristiany calls attention to important points in Durkheim's sociology. For example, (1) the frequency of "individual repetition of an action is not sufficient" to constitute a "social fact." (2) Sociology does not study the social forces as such, but "the external signs through which they become manifest." (3) To Durkheim the individual "is not a puppet in the hands of a robot society."

In the Preface, C. Bougle emphasizes Durkheim's position that in society the whole adds something important to the parts. As individual representations (symbols) are not confined to individual neurons, so collective representations are not confined to individual minds.

In the essays given in this book, Durkheim claims that "the average moral conscience is mediocre" and feels deeply about closely circumscribed and close-at-hand duties only. Hence, it is not adequate to look to the average person "for a standard of morality" for the world. An objective scale of human values in a complete sense is much greater than the average person feels.

Durkheim contends that morality "begins with life in the group, since it is only there that disinterestedness and devotion become meaningful." The value of anything cannot be estimated "except in relation to some conception of the ideal," and hence it is important to study ideals, their origins, and the ways in which they transcend experiences. By these few references it will be seen that Durkheim has made thought-stimulating contributions to social theory.

E.S.B.

THE IDEA OF PROGRESS. A Revaluation. By Morris Ginsberg. Boston: Beacon Press, 1953, pp. 82.

At some length the author reviews the ideas of progress as held by various writers, such as Comte, Condorcet, Hegel, Marx. At the present time progress is illustrated by the fact that "for better or worse mankind is rapidly becoming one in the sense at least of interdependence and interconnection of its parts," but is it also "attaining unity in the deeper sense of unity of aim or purpose"? Knowledge is a necessary if not a sufficient "condition of progress," for "it can point to the possibilities open to men and thus help to provide the will with the opportunity to choose among them." Upon the basis of these choices progress or regress will result.

THE QUEST FOR UTOPIA. An Anthology of Imaginary Societies. By Glen Negley and J. Max Patrick. New York: Henry Schuman, 1952, pp. 599.

In this anthology of more than twenty-five famous utopias, Professors Negley and Patrick have presented what proves to be a significantly good sample of utopian thought in Western civilization covering the years from 1850 through 1950. Then, in reverse as it were, they offer some of the older utopian thought ranging from Sir Thomas More and Campanella to the year 1850. Their reason for this is that they believe the "ideas of the older utopists become more significant if more recent examples of imaginary societies are known; the depth, insight and influence as well as the limitations of both ancient and modern work are thus made more apparent." According to the authors, utopian literature possesses three characteristics, namely, its fictional nature, its description of a particular state or community, and its presentation of the political structure of the particular state or community. Some of the lesser known but good utopian essays are displayed, among these being Gabriel Tarde's *Underground Man*, in which he forecast the final establishment of a

great Asiatic-American-European confederacy, Chauncey Thomas' *The Crystal Button*, and Condé B. Pallen's *Crucible Island*. Each selection is introduced by appropriate descriptions of its intent and excellent bibliographies are furnished.

M.J.V.

DOWNTOWN VERSUS SUBURBAN SHOPPING. By C. T. Jonassen.
Columbus: The Ohio State University, 1953, pp. xv+99.

In this well-conceived and -executed piece of research, considerable space is devoted to methods of research in the given field of economic activity. It was found that between 1940 and 1950 "downtown" shopping decreased about 5 per cent, while "suburban" shopping increased 4.59 per cent in Columbus, Ohio. However, there was a small increase in the "downtown-south" shopping in Columbus, which was more than offset by an 8.53 per cent decrease in "downtown-north" shopping.

E.S.B.

SOCIOLOGY AND PSYCHOLOGY OF COMMUNISM. By Jules Monnerot. Translated from the French by Jane Degras and Richard Rees. Boston: The Beacon Press, 1953, pp. 339.

One of a series of studies in Soviet tyranny and power, this essay is remarkable for its insight into the history, sociology, and psychology of dictatorial Russian communism.

The author deals with communism as a faith, a twentieth-century "Islam," with Russia related to communism as the Abbasid empire was to Islam. Communism should be regarded as a religious sect of world conquerors for whom Russia is the strong point and center from which the attack has been launched. In the Russian revolution there were two inherent facts: the failure of a political oligarchy and the impotence of the plebs. The Marxian message was virtually a technological messianism, and the Soviet army objectifies the militant aspects of Communist conquest.

The growth of absolutism and the concentration of power in the party involved a Russian counterrevolution not directed against the party, but actually an internal revolution within the party. Since the party's structure is vertical, all of its business proceeds along vertical lines. The author traces the growth of the party and explains its relation to Bolshevikization. Other basic topics include the meaning of totality, the psychology of secular religions, the function of tyranny, the nature of twentieth-century absolutism, and the "totalitarian" man. Totalitarian

dynamics is such that the state canalizes the activity of all individuals, all organizations, all national and foreign policy, and basic to this is the totalitarian need to keep the initiative at all times. Rather than maintaining a separation of religion and politics, the Soviet Communists have projected the sacred into the political realm. Thus, communism has become a dynamic fighting faith not only in Russia but in all countries where the seeds of communism have been planted and where Communist organizations, openly or secretly, are at work.

J.E.N.

LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE IN SOCIETY. By Hugh Dalziel Duncan. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1953, pp. xv+262.

Subtitled "A Sociological Essay on Theory and Method in the Interpretation of Linguistic Symbols with a Bibliographical Guide to the Sociology of Literature," this book by sociologist Duncan considers "sociology and literature as human sciences," and aims to "analyze what kind of ends can be achieved by what kind of symbols." In a sense, it is a treatise on the sociology of literature. The author declares that while "sociological styles of thinking about symbolic material are developing," this development "is taking place outside academic sociology as we know it in America." He manifests a bit of regret that this kind of thinking is being done more by departments of language and literature than by those in sociology. Indeed, he states that "even when American sociologists do accept 'expressive' and 'personal' documents as data, literary works are ruled out." Great art is revealed, and rightly so, as one of the great powers which are given over to champion individual man and real humanism. Great literature "is the conscious exploration through the imagination of the *possibilities* of human action in society."

The organization of the book is admirable, and its materials are developed in learned and masterful expositions. Part I handles language and literature in society, treating of literature as great art, as magical art, as make-believe, and as a social institution. Part II analyzes the methodological problems in the sociological analysis of symbolic material. Part III deals with a specific sociological view of symbols, relating these with status. Author Duncan might well have made his text more illustrative by referring to some of the modern novelists and dramatists who seek to communicate their points of view toward contemporary social situations. The sixty-eight pages of bibliographical materials are noteworthy for their scope. Sociologists who are interested in communication can ill afford to neglect this book.

M.J.V.

ROBERT OWEN OF NEW LANARK. By Margaret Cole. New York: Oxford University Press, 1953, pp. 231.

On the basis of careful research over a considerable period of time, Mrs. Cole has produced a well-balanced analysis of the life, activities, and work of the famous Welsh industrialist who was "the first advocate, in this country, of town-planning and of a Green Belt"; the first "to demand and to set up, nursery schools"; the first to recognize the important "function of play in education"; the first "to tell his fellow-employers, in that age of scramble for profits and pared costs . . . that the human machines which they used in their factories would repay careful treatment and upkeep as much as did their inanimate machines."

THE RURAL-URBAN FRINGE. A Study of Adjustment to Residence Location. By Walter T. Martin. Eugene: University of Oregon, The University Press, 1953, pp. v+109.

The author defines the rural-urban fringe as "that area of interpenetrating rural and urban land uses peripheral to the modern city" and describes it as being composed of "a dynamic population mass seeking to adjust to a habitat that is rural yet urban by techniques which are neither rural nor urban." In these areas he finds that "the clash of rural nostalgias and urban appetites tends to frustrate the idealized goal."

This report is based on a firsthand, carefully designed analysis of "the fringe area shared by Eugene and Springfield, Oregon." The author discusses a number of hypotheses of human ecology and makes his study in the light of these hypotheses, restated for purposes of testing.

Several generalizations are reached that are applicable to the Eugene-Springfield area, but only six will be given here by way of illustrating the total findings. (1) The extent of accessibility of the residence area to the city center is not a crucial factor in the fringe. (2) Males are somewhat more likely than females to make a satisfactory adjustment to a fringe location. (3) Young adults and the elderly are less likely than those in the middle years to make a satisfactory adjustment. (4) Successful adjustment to the rural-urban fringe is positively associated with social status. (5) Conditioning during earlier periods of life to nonurban residence is conducive to satisfactory adjustment to the rural-urban fringe. (6) The presence of a family garden is associated with favorable attitudes to the fringe on the part of both men and women. Four appendices contain materials that illustrate the excellent research methods used in producing this important report.

E.S.B.

A CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK FOR SOCIAL CASEWORK. By Eleanor E. Cockerill and others. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1953, pp. 26.

Four members of the faculty of the School of Social Work, University of Pittsburgh, are the joint authors of this outline dealing with the study, diagnostic, and treatment processes of social casework, but the sociologist will be most interested in the sections dealing with the philosophy and concepts of social casework. Although principles and concepts are not clearly differentiated from each other, the authors deserve congratulation for their pioneer work in this field, for, as they say, "professional practice proceeds from a set of clear principles and concepts about human beings and their needs which are consciously held, teachable as such, and which constitute the logical justification for the practice." E.S.B.

GROUP RELATIONS AT THE CROSSROADS. Edited by Muzafer Sherif and M. O. Wilson. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1953, pp. viii+379.

Included in this discussion of group relations are original papers by psychologists, sociologists, and students of human behavior in general. All were presented as lectures during the second session of the University of Oklahoma Conference in Social Psychology, held in 1952. The importance and significance of vital problems relating to status and role relations, leadership, solidarity and morale within groups, attitude formation and attitude change occupy the center of attention in the offerings of the fourteen selections. Specific attention to reference groups and their impact upon human relations, an analysis of compliant behavior, social distance problems, sociometric structure in personality and group formation, and the dynamics of social perception has been given by Sherif, Festinger, Hill, Jennings, and Gibson, respectively. Not all the authors are in perfect accord as to the exact ways and means by which groups in their varied functionings affect the behavior of people. All, however, have agreed that the whole problem of group relations is one of crucial importance in the world today. Sherif in introducing the papers of the volume provides the reader with essential integrative materials for comprehension of the meaning of the whole. It may be that had he not written this introduction so well, some of the papers would have presented difficulties for students in that their general import tends to be lost through what might be called a lack of ability to present thought in clear, simple, precise language. M.J.V.

STUDIES IN CHINESE THOUGHT. Edited by Arthur F. Wright. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1953, pp. ix+317.

The aim of this symposium is to make "fresh approaches to the many problems of Chinese thought"; some of the main subjects that are presented are harmony and conflict in Chinese philosophy (Derke Bodde), types of symbolism in Chinese art (Schuyler Cammann), toward a theory of translating (I. A. Richards), and the Chinese language and foreign ideas (Arthur F. Wright).

SOCIAL FICTION

THE LYING DAYS. A Novel by Nadine Gordimer. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1953, pp. 340.

This is a first novel by a young South African writer who has gained some repute for her ability to write short stories. The locale of her tale of the emergence into womanhood of a young adolescent is South Africa in the vicinity of Johannesburg. The story is told in the first person by Helen Shaw, whose father was assistant secretary of The Mine at the little town of Atherton. Both her father and mother were English born and bred thoroughly to English gentility.

There is no plot to unfold, but the novelist portrays nicely the struggle of the young girl in achieving identity as a person in her own right. The racial or ethnic conflict of the scene scarcely touches her as a youngster in Atherton, since her parents shield her from the worst phases of it. When she finally enters the University of Johannesburg, she becomes acquainted with a Bohemian set of young people who have little or no race prejudice. Helen meets Mary, a young African girl at the University and attempts to befriend her, but the African girl knows her place so well that she is even more shocked than Helen's mother at the invitation to spend the week end at the Atherton home. The rest of the story is devoted to Helen's erotic adventure with Paul, a young South African social welfare worker in the field of housing, trying to find homes for twenty thousand Africans with only a thousand available houses. The novel ends when she leaves him and departs for England. The scenes of racial conflict taking place in the South Africa of Malan today are rather incidentally rehearsed, the best one reported being that of a riot and strike in the industrial section of Johannesburg. The reader gets at least a slice of life from the South African scene, a slice that does not prove to be too different from any European or American cut.

M.J.V.

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